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THE ART BULLETIN is pleased to announce that
The Arthur Kingsley Porter Prize for 1958
has been awarded to

Mary Ann Graeve

for her article "The Stone of Unction in Caravaggio's Painting for the Chiesa Nuova," which was published in the September issue.

The Arthur Kingsley Porter Prize was established in 1957 for the encouragement of young scholars in art historical studies. The sum of four hundred dollars will be awarded annually, or at the discretion of the Officers of the College Art Association, for an Article or Note published in THE ART BULLETIN during the year preceding the announcement of the award and judged by a committee of three to be of sound scholarship, original in content, and distinguished in presentation. Contributors of any nationality who are under 40 years of age at the time of the submission of the manuscript to the Editor are eligible.

THE YOUNGER MASTERS OF THE FIRST CAMPAIGN OF THE PORTA DELLA MANDORLA, 1391-1397

CHARLES SEYMOUR, JR.

IN MEMORIAM • PAUL WHITMAN ETTER • 1929-1958

THIS paper does not pretend to a full view of the sculpture of the elaborate and beautiful portal, on the north flank of the Florentine Cathedral, that has come to be known as the Porta della Mandorla. The scope is too large for a single article; furthermore, an overall study has been in preparation for some time elsewhere. Our objective is purposively narrowed to a small but densely articulated cluster of topics all too evidently still unsettled and in need of attention now.

Most of the conclusions advanced here were put forward as hypotheses for testing and critical revision in the graduate seminar in Renaissance art at Yale University over a period of two years, 1956-1958. The aim was to submit to a continuing cooperative study a concisely defined problem arising from the examination of a collaborative program of art. In this case the focus was directed on the first only of the three campaigns of the Porta della Mandorla in the hope that if certain troublesome questions could be straightened out, new views would open up on an interlude of style which is itself central to a larger and more accurate view of a basic early phase of Renaissance sculpture.¹

In the presentation of the results of this work attention must be called to three aspects of the history of style. An effort first must be made to see clearly the differences between the styles of two generations of Florentine sculptors during the decade 1390-1400, a matter apparently still far from decided in the literature. A second effort then may follow; this is to discriminate between the personal styles of two sculptors of the younger of the two generations at work upon the portal during the first campaign. There remains, finally, for a new evaluation the place of those two "younger" styles in the general stylistic situation in Florence just before and just after the competition for the Baptistery Doors of 1401-1402.

I

In reopening the inquiry into the first campaign of the Porta della Mandorla,² it is worth recalling that our ignorance of two vital facts is virtually total. The exact date of the drawing

1. A preliminary report was presented on behalf of the seminar by Miss M. Margaret Collier at the Symposium held at the Institute of Fine Arts of New York University in the spring of 1958. The other contributing members of the seminar were Miss Mary Davison, Miss Jeanne Drapeau, Mrs. Theresa Heyman, Peter Bohan, Hugh Gourley, Sheldon Nodelman, and the late Paul Etter, whose recent tragic death cut short at its beginnings a museum career of promise.

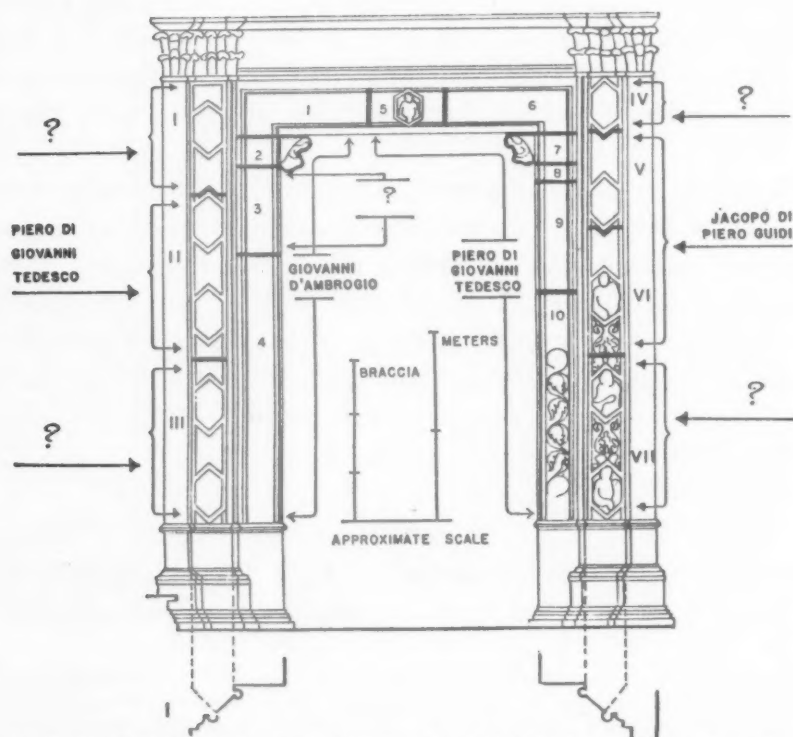
Dottorssa Giulia Brunetti has for some time turned her attention to the sculpture of the portal and its period; she has published several articles as her views have developed on the way to what it is to be hoped will be a full monographic study. I admit that I find it hard to accept as final some of her conclusions thus far published—hence in part this article. This does not in the slightest lessen my feelings of indebtedness to her work, from which I have drawn a great deal, and to her

personally for several photographs, information on measurements, and reprints of two articles. For many hours of invaluable discussion on this subject matter in general, I also thank Dr. Ulrich Middeldorf, Director of the Kunsthistorisches Institut in Florence, who gave me a cordial welcome to its specialized research facilities during 1954-1955. It is a pleasure to recall the courteous and friendly reception over that winter offered by Mr. Bernard Berenson to the library he has founded at I Tatti. My appreciation goes to the Guggenheim Foundation and to Yale University for making possible that year of study in Florence.

2. For bibliography of the Porta della Mandorla to 1942, see W. and E. Paatz, *Die Kirchen von Florenz*, Frankfurt on the Main, III, 1952, pp. 486-490; for additional references (including those to the work of Planiscig and Vaccarino): G. Brunetti, "Jacopo della Quercia a Firenze," *Belli Arti*, 1,

up of the program and the conditions and precise aims imposed by the person or persons responsible are alike unrecorded. They can be reconstructed only on the basis of a detailed knowledge of historical, intellectual, and symbolic factors which lie outside this present investigation.⁸ We must begin here more or less at hazard, with the partially incomplete and laconic entries of the *Deliberazioni* of the Duomo standing committee (*Operai*) which start, in 1391, by recording a decision to have the *capomaestro* proceed to assign to individual members of a chosen team of sculptors separate blocks or sections of marble for carving on a prescribed design. The available records begin with this rather prosaic procedure and with the scheme of design and topics of subject matter doubtless already pretty much determined.

The first campaign comprised three categories of carving all destined for the lower part of the portal: 1) the classicizing reliefs of figurines in acanthus rinceaux of the jambs and lintel, 2) the reliefs of angels at half length holding scrolls in hexagonal frames alternating with the classicizing figurines at full length in acanthus foliage of the splayed reveals (*sguanci*), and 3) two small statues of bearded prophets under aediculae placed to left and right above the capitals of the reveals on either side of the arch. The jambs and lintel are made up of ten sections of various lengths; the reveal panels are carved from seven sections (see text fig. A). According to the documents the unit of work was the section, for which the master sculptor to whom it was assigned was responsible in its entirety, not only for the figures but for the ornament also.



A. Porta della Mandorla, Emplacement of Relief Sculpture. First Campaign, 1391-1397 (Arabic numerals: jamb-and-lintel sections. Roman numerals: reveal sections)

1951, pp. 9-15, and (in English) in *Art Quarterly*, xv, 1952, pp. 119ff. Important are P. Toesca, *Il Trecento*, Turin, 1951, pp. 352ff., and W. R. Valentiner, in *Art Quarterly*, III, 1940, pp. 182ff. (reprinted, *Studies of Italian Renaissance Sculpture*, London-New York, 1950, pp. 25ff.); in *Art Quarterly*, XIV, 1951, pp. 307ff. Essential are the most recent views published in R. Krautheimer and T. Krautheimer-Hess, *Lorenzo Ghiberti*, Princeton, 1956, pp. 52-53; and H. W. Janson, *The Sculpture*

of Donatello, Princeton, 1957, II, pp. 219-222, hereinafter referred to as Krautheimer and Janson respectively.

3. Dr. Erwin Panofsky kindly allowed me to read some pages of the manuscript of a forthcoming book in which he summarizes a new interpretation of allegorical antique subject-matter in the portal's sculpture. See for iconographic and historical aspects relating to the program: W. Kurth, *Die Darstellung des nackten Menschen im Quattrocento*, Berlin, 1912,

Poggi's durable and well-worn edition of the documents has made readily available since 1909 the roster of artists known to have worked in the first campaign.⁴ This included on one level three masters who had earlier worked for some years in the Cathedral workshops: Giovanni d'Ambrogio, Jacopo de Piero Guidi, and the northerner (by 1391 well acclimated to Florence), Piero di Giovanni Tedesco. At the beginning, in 1391, appears the name of a younger master, Niccolò di Piero Lamberti (called Il Pela); in 1396 the second recorded representative of the younger generation, Lorenzo di Giovanni, son of Giovanni d'Ambrogio, was assigned the pair of statues of prophets.⁵ The documents provide, then, the names of no less than five masters, and these can be divided into two groups according to age and experience.

A continuing problem has been to match each section of the door with the proper master on the basis of documentary and stylistic evidence. The fundamental modern study is Kauffmann's, now some thirty years old, which was directed primarily toward the work of the older masters, particularly Piero di Giovanni Tedesco.⁶ Kauffmann's allocations for the sections of jamb-and-lintel reliefs, fairly evenly divided up the center of the doorway between Piero and Giovanni d'Ambrogio (with one section only possibly to be excepted on Giovanni's side of the opening), seem today perfectly secure. His attributions of three of the sections of the reveal sculpture to Piero di Giovanni (text fig. A: 11) and Jacopo di Piero Guido (text fig. A: v-vi) are likewise judicious and sound. But there is a point at which one is forced to differ, and this point is at the juncture introducing the work of the younger masters.

The uppermost and lowermost sections of the right reveal Kauffmann gave to Niccolò Lamberti (text fig. A: iv, vii). Aside from the measurement given by a document naming Lamberti (which measurement incidentally may apply as well to another section of the reveal sculpture), what stylistic basis is there actually for this judgment? Just as difficult to accept is the allocation of the uppermost and lowermost sections of the left reveal to Giovanni d'Ambrogio (text fig. A: i, iii). Kauffmann here appears to have depended on a document which certainly indicates at first glance Giovanni's responsibility, but the data of style would have seemed to require a second and deeper look. Kauffmann failed to carry through a comparison with other available examples of Giovanni d'Ambrogio's style and failed also to differentiate between the styles of the two sections. Finally he quite arbitrarily, in my view, placed the controversial Annunciation group of the Museo dell'Opera del Duomo (cat. nos. 95, 96) in the portal's first campaign and equated its authorship with the two sections of the left reveal he had given to Giovanni d'Ambrogio.

Subsequent studies have retained part of Kauffmann's more dubious conclusions and have sought by rather desperate measures to emend the others. On the first score, the attribution of the right-hand reveal sections to Lamberti (text fig. A: iv, vii) has been allowed consistently to go unchallenged. On the other hand, the reciprocal sections on the left side (i, iii) have been understandably removed from Giovanni d'Ambrogio for stylistic reasons. Taken uniformly as a unit (in this respect still following Kauffmann), they have been withdrawn from a strictly documented context of the first campaign and at one time thrown into the limbo of anonymity for apparent lack of a recorded master to whom they could be assigned. The Annunciation group of the Museo dell'Opera del Duomo has veered from name to name, sometimes accepted as part of the portal's program, sometimes not; but at one point it, too, was slipped into what might irreverently be termed the grab-bag of the same anonymous "master."

p. 26; F. Saxl, in *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, IV, 1940-1941, p. 35; H. Baron, *The Crisis of the Early Italian Renaissance*, Princeton, 1954, *passim*; and Krautheimer, pp. 280-281.

4. G. Poggi, *Il Duomo di Firenze (Italienischen Forschungen herausgegeben vom Kunsthistorischen Institut in Florenz, II)*, Berlin, 1909, hereinafter referred to as Poggi. The documents on the Porta della Mandorla that concern this study are grouped principally under the rubric of the portal as docs.

348-59. Docs. 348, 349-50, 352 are duplicated under the rubric of the sculpture of the façade and campanile as docs. 88, 90-91, 94. The following entries in that section appear to apply to the first campaign of the Porta della Mandorla: docs. 95-97, 99-104, 106.

5. Poggi, docs. 348, 356.

6. H. Kauffmann, "Florentiner Domplastik," *Jahrbuch der preussischen Kunstsammlungen*, XLVII, 1926, pp. 141ff., 216ff.

7. Toesca (*op.cit.*, 1951, pp. 358ff. n. 108) suggests the

Thus there grew up in relatively recent times what now must be called a legend—the legend of a sculptor of marked, indeed of remarkably varied, abilities, who worked upon the portal between 1391 and 1397 and who had no known birthplace, no known master, no past, no future, and no name. This creation was the hypothetical “Hercules Master” (sometimes so-called from the striking figurine in the lowermost section of the left reveal—text fig. A: III) or “Annunciation Master” (Toesca’s choice of title from the group in the Museo dell’Opera del Duomo).

The “solution” has not proved very stable. Sooner or later an historical identity had to be found for this “master” of “progressive” tendencies. For a number of reasons, including that of extreme youth in the period 1391–1397, Nanni di Banco faded early as a possibility; but the candidacy of the Sienese Jacopo della Quercia has had a more serious, if mixed, reception. The Quercia thesis, argued with spirit and ingenuity by Dottorressa Brunetti, appears unfortunately on prolonged examination something short of watertight; moreover, it has thrown into a bewildering light not only the early career of Quercia, best left at this time a matter of careful weighing of several possibilities, but also the *Annunciation* of the Museo dell’Opera.⁹

One great debt in particular is owed to Dottorressa Brunetti for her discovery of a method of handling a dilemma left by Kauffmann’s analysis.⁹ Facing the document of payment to Giovanni d’Ambrogio for the upper section of the left reveal, she courageously refused to interpret it as proof of Giovanni’s authorship because she could not see the older-generation sculptor’s hand in what she insisted, quite rightly, was quite another, more advanced expression of style. She resolved the difficulty by suggesting that the carving was actually done by a gifted young assistant for whom the older master (in association with the younger) received the payment recorded. This principle of interpreting a document has, of course, obvious dangers and could be abused beyond any recognition of historical method if not sufficiently controlled. In this case controls exist in records of very nearly the same time concerning Antonio di Banco in association with his young son, Nanni, and Bartoluccio acting on behalf of the young Ghiberti.¹⁰ In both these analogous cases involving financial transactions a related, older, established artist appears as legally responsible for the younger artist not as yet established. We know of no such legal relationship between Quercia and Giovanni d’Ambrogio. But such a relationship must have existed for a time between Giovanni d’Ambrogio and his son Lorenzo. To this point we shall return a little later.

With this summary of what seem to be the essentials of the present position let me suggest a point of departure for a new approach.

I would propose here that we abandon the hypothesis of the “Hercules-Annunciation Master”

possibility that the hand may be a late phase of Jacopo di Piero Guidi. Of this there seems no likelihood at all. Additional references: G. Brunetti, *op.cit.*, 1951, pp. 10–11.

8. Brunetti places Quercia in Florence for four years before 1400 on a reading of a passage in Vasari’s *Vita* of Jacopo della Quercia in the first edition. The text states that Quercia was in Florence for “four years” while the commission for the Baptistery Doors was being decided (“innanzi che tale opera [the Doors] s’allogasse”). One would think that this would mean roughly 1400–1403. She proposes, however, one period of three years, 1391–1393, and then the year 1397; this is, conservatively speaking, quite a stretching of the Vasari text. The rather clear case of Vasari’s doubt, or even confusion, but no more, of the attribution of the Porta della Mandorla *Assumption* to Quercia rather than to Nanni di Banco is inverted to provide some very dubious “evidence” that Vasari had in some way “proof” of Quercia’s activity elsewhere on the portal. She gives both lowermost and uppermost reveal sections on the left to Quercia, arguing that the difference in style between the two represents a progression from 1392 to 1393; it can be shown, on the contrary, 1) that both sections were paid for within a month of each other, 2) that the “progression” from section to section is illusory, and 3) that the “progression”

in the lowermost section from a “classicizing” to a “Gothicizing” style may more likely have been just the opposite. The illustrated stylistic comparisons with Quercia’s work are with details of secondary parts of the Trenta Altar, already in the middle of Quercia’s career; one would expect emphasis rather on comparisons with the earlier Ilaria dei Guinigi monument and the Ferrara *Madonna*—actually, however, these are paradoxically in somewhat greater contrast with the styles of the portal sculpture in question. The thesis has not received much support. J. Pope-Hennessy (*Introduction to Italian Gothic Sculpture*, London-New York, 1955, pp. 219–220) does not commit himself, citing both Carli’s and Brunetti’s theories on the early Quercia *ex aequo*. Krautheimer (p. 53 n. 10) reserves judgment. Janson (p. 221 n. 6) states that the relation to the portal of the Museo dell’Opera Annunciation group (upon which Brunetti depends most heavily in her case for Quercia’s participation in the sculpture of the portal) “remains purely hypothetical.” On this last, see note 47, below.

9. G. Brunetti, *op.cit.*, 1951, pp. 5, 13.

10. Poggi, docs. 361 (?), 364, 405, 409; Krautheimer, pp. 41, 105.

and the hypothesis of uncertain early-period activity of such known masters as Jacopo della Quercia and make a fresh start from the documents and the monument. If this be agreed, at least provisionally, we may chart the next step diagrammatically (see text fig. A). According to the diagram, left intact are Kauffmann's trustworthy results for the jamb sculpture and for sections II, V and VI of the reveal sculpture. Marked on the diagram with question-marks are the remaining portions of the reveal sculpture and one small section of the left jamb. The first requirement is to find acceptable names for the questioned sections. Should this prove possible, as I believe it may, we can then move on to the more interesting implications just beyond.

II

Among the sculptors known to have had a part in the first campaign of the Porta della Mandorla, Niccolò Lamberti had the misfortune of being confused by Vasari with Niccolò Spinelli d'Arezzo; Giovanni d'Ambrogio and his son, Lorenzo, were perhaps equally unlucky in being passed over by Vasari entirely.¹¹ These sixteenth century lapses still exert an influence.

One danger Giovanni d'Ambrogio's reputation runs is to fall under the great shadow of Orcagna as a rather gray and uninspiring late Trecentist.¹² Whether trained or not in Orcagna's shop (a question which still needs more attention) Giovanni d'Ambrogio appears as early as the 1360's as a master. Then, in a revolution of taste in the 1380's which swept away an entire team of sculptors in the employ of the Duomo authorities, he became associated ultimately with two markedly un-Orcagnesque sculptors, Piero di Giovanni Tedesco and Jacopo di Piero Guidi. These are the "older generation" men as of 1391 at the beginning of work upon the Porta della Mandorla.

Of this particular "Duomo group," all belonging to the same generation but differing in origin and in personal styles, Giovanni d'Ambrogio must be singled out as the perfectionist and classicist. He seems to have been among the earliest of the Florentines of the last half of the Trecento to have once more rediscovered in some measure the antique; a journey to Rome, perhaps in the company of his young follower Lamberti, a little before the portal's beginnings is not unlikely.¹³ Into the formal vocabulary of the late Gothic he brought a new sensitivity to refinement of proportions, of delicate articulation of masses and balanced grace of suggested action. His effects are much gentler than the rigor or intensity of the Orcagnesque, and his sense of form seems to have favored rounded masses, oval shapes, the subtlety of suggesting a firm shape beneath the flowing folds of a relatively thin drapery, the delight in precise articulation of part to part (of hand to wrist, fingers to palm, of joint to joint). Very strikingly his style combines refinement and charm with monumentality. And when, as seems quite probable in the 1390's toward the end of his career as an active sculptor, he began to feel the influence from the North of the late-Gothic proto-International style, he adapted that influence to his fundamentally lyric scansion in a recall of a traditionally Tuscan *gentilezza* harking back beyond Petrarch to Cavalcanti.

The large, imposing winged figures of Prudence and Justice of the Loggia dei Lanzi series (Figs. 1, 2) provide a firm notion of Giovanni d'Ambrogio's style of the 1380's just before his

11. U. Proccacci, "Niccolò di Piero Lamberti e Niccolò di Luca Spinelli," *Il Vasari*, I, 1927-1928, pp. 300ff.

12. Pope-Hennessy (*op.cit.*, 1955, p. 38) allows Giovanni d'Ambrogio to stand generically for the sculptural style of the last quarter of the Trecento in Florence and emphasizes the role of painting (i.e., Agnolo Gaddi) in the designs for his statuary of the Loggia and the Duomo. The most recent monographic study is G. Brunetti's, in *Rivista d'Arte*, XIV, 1932, pp. 1ff. See also Kauffmann, *op.cit.*, 1926, *passim*.

13. This would be nearly ten years earlier than the sojourn in Rome suggested by G. J. Hoogewerff, in *Mededeelingen van het nederlandsch Instituut te Rome*, IV, 1927, pp. 143ff. Hoogewerff's attributions to Giovanni d'Ambrogio and his

son are not convincing. Brunetti has suggested as a source for antique elements of the Porta della Mandorla the sarcophagus used as a tomb for Piero Farnese in the Duomo (now Museo dell'Opera). The most obvious source for the figurines in acanthus is the series of 3rd century relief panels which were placed as early as the 8th century in the chapel of John VII in Old St. Peter's (now Grotte Vaticane): see Krautheimer, p. 280 n. 11, illustration. It would have been necessary to go to Rome to see these for study. One cannot be too dogmatic, however, for fear of overlooking some similar model, now lost, in the Florentine area, but there is no reason to believe that some Florentine sculptors of the late Trecento did not make the journey to Rome.

participation in the program of the Porta della Mandorla.¹⁴ There the gestures are clear and balanced, the draperies revealing, each part of the statue smoothly articulated into a unity of the whole. The figure seems poised, rather than set within its frame, with a disarming sense of ease, of more than human dignity and gentle quiet: "Angelica sembianza/ in voi, donna, riposa."

It would be necessary to use very different descriptive and allusive terms in evoking the styles of the other sculptors who worked on the Loggia series. But one finds precisely the same verbal concepts rising to the mind's surface when looking at two reveal sections of the Porta della Mandorla. These include three angels and a figurine sometimes, perhaps wrongly, called "Abundantia" in the uppermost and lowermost sections of the right reveal (text fig. A: IV, VII; Figs. 3, 4). The resemblances of form and spirit to the Loggia Virtues by Giovanni d'Ambrogio are strikingly close; rounded, ovoid forms of heads, their draperies gracefully disposed and defining forms beneath, a somewhat advancing but not overassertive relief, easy relation of figure to frame. More specific correspondences include: a recognizable mannerism of a "broken" foreshortening of the forearm, a compact mass used for the grasping hand opposed to the delicate articulation of the less active hand, the surface modeling and linear accents of the hair and wing forms as well as of the lower features of the head, also idiosyncracies of folds and overlaps of drapery.

These findings are confirmed by the study of the ornamental panel between the two hexagons of the lower section (Fig. 3). The acanthus forms spread gracefully with a balance between projection and ground plane. The allegorical figurine of a partially nude young woman, cradling a cornucopia in her foreshortened left forearm while with an equally gentle movement she pours from a *patera* in her right hand, neither sinks back nor definitely comes forward. It is a sensitive, yet not quite confident, transposition from the antique. The figurine closely relates to others in the jamb reliefs on the other side of the door. These jamb reliefs were reasonably (with minor exceptions to be treated soon) given by Kauffmann to Giovanni d'Ambrogio. I see no reason why, on the basis of close stylistic comparison with the larger figures of the Loggia Virtues by Giovanni d'Ambrogio, the reveal sections of the portal in question here should not be given with confidence to Giovanni d'Ambrogio's hand as well. This then would locate a major part of Giovanni's contribution to the portal in the reveal sculpture of the right-hand *sguancio* and specifically to the uppermost and lowermost sections, with probable assignment of at least one section in 1391.¹⁵

Turning now to the uppermost section of the left-hand reveal (text fig. A: I) we cannot escape, as has been consistently noted in the modern literature, a different style and hand (Fig. 6). Both ornament and angel-figure project more boldly and clearly from the ground plane. In the ornamental portions the forms are very precisely delineated, the shadows working toward the underlining of order and clarity. There is less sap and energy in the plant forms. The drapery of the Angel is heavier; the projections and returns into space are more pronounced. The reverse-curve armature underlying both the half-figure of the angel and the little male nude playing on a viol below is more obvious and more languorous. Rather deeper and more controlled shadows suggest the existence of greater spatial volumes. The volumes occur by virtue of deliberately placed enclosing forms: the curve of the wing, the drapery around the column of the neck and around the right forearm (now more adroitly foreshortened), the undercutting of the billowing scroll. Thus the movement which can be read laterally, as it were in two dimensions, reads also outwards and inwards in a related way in three dimensions. In modeling, the surfaces are simpler and take the light more broadly. But the play and interplay of form in a full spatial sense is on the other hand more complex. There is no loss of grace, indeed there is a gain in this respect; and

14. Documents in K. Frey, *Die Loggia dei Lanzi*, Leipzig, 1885. See J. Pope-Hennessy, *op.cit.*, 1955, pp. 198-199.

15. Poggi, doc. 348. The context indicates assignment of reveal sculpture.

there is a gain also in substance and the power of clarity and order. This style occurs only once in the reveal sculpture of the portal and only in this particular section. It relates to the style of Giovanni d'Ambrogio, but it is both fresher and more incisive. It may be discriminated as a "younger" style, moving from the matrix of Giovanni's style and in a path other than that taken by what clearly seems to be a second "younger" style.

This is to be found in the lowermost section of the same reveal (text fig. A: III). Here there is still another method of handling the ornament, quite another modeling technique, and, above all, quite another sense of composition and of space in the hexagonally framed angels (Figs. 5, 10). The sculptor of this lowermost section handles his ornamental motives with more ebullience than either Giovanni d'Ambrogio or the sculptor of the section just examined. There is more order than in Giovanni d'Ambrogio's panel but less of the rather brittle clarity characteristic of the section above it just analyzed (Figs. 3, 6). The figure-ground relationship stands somewhere between the two; the leaf-forms and the figurine emerge with vitality *from* the ground—they are not laid against it, nor do they still quite merge with it. We tend, relatively speaking, to lose sight of the ground-plane and instead to become conscious of a uniform plane acting from the exterior which presses the surfaces of the relief, in such motives as the scrolls, down and back into their framed environment. In compensation, the modeling of the surfaces is more vivacious and has a certain livelier ripple and sparkle.¹⁶

In the two angels of this lowermost section there is a progression away from what I take to be the earlier one (Fig. 10a) closer to Giovanni d'Ambrogio in forms and spirit, to a still more planar, more frontal, and more monumental expression in the second (Fig. 10b).¹⁷ The facial type is far closer to the antique, as is indeed the "Hercules" figurine in the ornamental panel of the same section of carving. The stylistic progression seems to fit needs and aims more architectonic than picturesque, to be more "Roman-revival" than "neo-Gothicizing."

The differences between the styles of the two sections under review (Figs. 5, 6) seem to add up to two basically different approaches. A telling way of seeing their contrast is to compare oblique views of the two figurines (Figs. 8, 9). The style of the first sculptor, who did the viol-playing little nude, places the figure not only against a clearer ground but in a deeper spatial enclosure; the forward as well as lateral movement of the head and bending right leg contrast with the uniform, flattened relief of the "Hercules." The "Hercules" exists not only in itself in less space, but the double-leaf structure of the acanthus is flattened back with it. There is thus established the fixed plane, of which I wrote earlier, that sets up a more definite relation with the architectural plane. Seen laterally and at the same level, the figurine of "Hercules" loses force and character—far more so than the viol-player. The "Hercules" is meant to be seen frontally and somewhat below (Fig. 5). This, too, establishes another fundamental difference between, as by now it must be evident, two different artistic minds as well as hands.

That they have a point in common is more than probable. This would be the style of Giovanni d'Ambrogio. Each of the two "younger" styles takes a different aspect of the older artist's style and develops it, exposes that aspect, as it were, in a novel, isolated state. They divide the earlier undifferentiated cord into two new strands.

Let us now proceed to the question of assigning names and thus historical personalities to these two "younger" hands.

16. In this instance of late Trecento style the influence of the antique goes beyond image to an approximation of formal system.

17. This is exactly the opposite of Brunetti's conclusion (see note 8 above). It does not appear possible to know for certain whether the sculptor began with the top or the bottom of his section. Technically there seems to be no specific advantage either way. In this case I believe the sculptor started

at the bottom and ended with the upper angel of the two. This direction of work on the marble reveal section in question is apparently true of the small section of jamb sculpture treated further on (Fig. 11) in which the top of the panel had to be evened off for a proper fit with the section above it; if he had begun at the top, he would more likely have allowed for the joint, and the cutting at the top would not have been necessary.

For the artist of the uppermost section of the left reveal the problem may be solved directly by comparison of the Angel (Fig. 6) with the small statues of Prophets at only slightly larger scale under tabernacles above the reveals and flanking the portal's arch. The head of the Prophet situated just above the left reveal sculpture (Fig. 7) shows the same broad modeling over a delicately felt facial structure, the same treatment of diadem accenting the curve of the forehead, the same handling of hair beneath the diadem framing the face, which emerges strongly and plastically from shadowed space. Below the head there is the same system of swinging pattern in the heavy drapery, the same feeling for enclosure of form by form, the same sense of balance and movement, the same kind of use of shadow to emphasize with clarity a spatial volume.

This surely is an instance of one and the same hand for both Prophet and Angel, shining clearly through the differences of physical type and expression which requirements of program demanded. Both Prophets of this part of the portal are documented without any ambiguity as by Lorenzo di Giovanni d'Ambrogio. The work of their carving can be established as having been done between the winter or spring of 1396 and late July of 1397.¹⁸

The section of reveal sculpture which corresponds so exactly in style to these figures, particularly the Prophet to the left, must have been done earlier, in 1393. This is the conclusion that is forced upon us by the measurement of two and one-eighth *braccia* mentioned in a document of payment for a section of reveal sculpture early in May of 1393; the uppermost left section is the only section of the reveal sculpture which approximates that measurement.¹⁹ The payment significantly is not to Lorenzo di Giovanni but to Giovanni d'Ambrogio, his father.

Unlike the normal run of extant documents recording the financial side of the relations between sculptors and Duomo authorities during the first campaign, this particular record makes no mention at all of work done by the recipient of payment. The usual formula "pro suo labore et laborerio . . .," or any equivalent, simply does not appear. Although there is no question as to who received payment, the document leaves open in an unusual way the identity of the sculptor who did the work. As a younger associate of his father at that time and not of an age to receive payment in his own right, Lorenzo di Giovanni could not well appear in the class of document cited. The first evidence of his independent status is only in 1396. As noted earlier, this way of interpreting the document of 1393 is not new, and the credit belongs to Dottorressa Brunetti. I differ with her theory that the young associate was Jacopo della Quercia, for this is surely to take too much latitude. The normal legal arrangement that the document reflects would be a father-son relationship, and that is exactly what the stylistic evidence quite clearly indicates.

Therefore for reasons first of all of style, and with the documentary evidence not in contradiction, I would give the disputed uppermost section of the left reveal to Lorenzo di Giovanni and would date it 1393 as the document applying to the section by measurement requires.

We come now at last to the problem of authorship of the last section of the reveal sculpture, the lowermost section of the left side (text fig. A: III). The problem of identification here might conceivably be draped with complications, but it seems to me to be essentially simple. It may be phrased as consisting of two premises. First, there exists a document which states unequivocally that "for his work" on a section of marble which can be only of reveal sculpture of "two and seven-eighths *braccia*" in length, "carved by him," Niccolò Lamberti was paid according to the normal rate per *braccio* of reveal relief in June of 1393.²⁰ Secondly, it has proved possible, as

18. Poggi, docs. 356-359. A part payment is first made on October 27, 1396; full payment for both statues is made July 30, 1397.

19. Poggi, doc. 351. The text follows: "Johanni Ambroxii pro duobus bracciis et uno octavo unius lapidis marmoris laborati pro sguancio ianue ecclesie ad foleas et figuras ad rationem fl. ix pro quolibet braccio, summa in totum fl. xix au. et s. ix et d. vi fp." (May 4, 1393). $2\frac{1}{8}$ *braccia* is a

unique measurement for the sections of reveal sculpture (*sguanci*); it can apply only to the uppermost section of the left reveal (see text fig. A: I). Brunetti has published a figure of 1.24 m. for this section, which fits the $2\frac{1}{8}$ *braccia* figure just about exactly.

20. Poggi, doc. 352. The text follows: "Niccholao Pieri, magistro intagli, pro suo labore et laborerio cuiusdam pietre marmoree per eum intagliate pro dicta opera ad rationem fl.

shown earlier, to assign every other section of the reveal sculpture of the first campaign to the other masters who are mentioned in the documents as taking part in that campaign. We find one section still unassigned, and the length of that section fits the measurement requirement of the document naming Lamberti: two and seven-eighths *braccia*, at twenty-three inches the *braccio*, come to just exactly the 63¾ inches the section measures.²¹ The logic of elimination, backed by the document, leaves no choice but to allocate this last section containing the "Hercules" figurine to Niccolò Lamberti.

There is no loophole to this conclusion that I have been able to uncover. We cannot reasonably invoke an unknown "assistant"—the phraseology of the document in any event is clear enough on that point. We must find some section that can be assigned to Lamberti in the reveal sculpture for he cannot on the strength of the document be omitted. Yet, what other section is there? The specifications of length in the document naming Lamberti can apply to only one other section of the reveal sculpture, the reciprocal section on the other side of the portal. But if we turn in that direction, we collide head on with the conclusion reached a little earlier that it was carved by Giovanni d'Ambrogio for whose "older" style there is good and final evidence outside the portal in the Loggia Virtues (Figs. 1, 2).

Lamberti's only documented work in sculpture before his assignment of a section of marble for the Porta della Mandorla in 1391 comprises minor commissions for several *stemmae*.²² These were completed just before and during his portal assignment to 1393. At this time we may imagine Lamberti as very young, at most barely twenty, and still unproved. Another document relating to the first campaign of the Porta della Mandorla specifies a commission to him in January 1393 for carving what must have been a small section for the relatively small price of six florins. The commission is hedged with an unusual number of safeguards reflecting doubt still as to his competence to get the work done satisfactorily and promptly.²³ No one has yet bothered to attach this rather minor document to a specific section of the portal. It is possible, though, that it might apply to one notably short section of the jamb sculpture, unique in style, that occurs on Giovanni d'Ambrogio's side immediately under the console documented as by Giovanni (text fig. A: 3).

The small section in question contains three figurines in rinceaux. In detail (Fig. 11), the style is flattened to an over-all plane, both in ornament and figures. The modeling is relatively vivacious as if to compensate for the flattened relief. The modeling of the seated putto is close indeed to that of the "Hercules" figurine (Fig. 9). The crown of the putto's head is cut in order to make a smoother joint with the section above and therefore must have been finished before the section above it. That section was carved by Giovanni d'Ambrogio in 1394. The commission to Lamberti was for completion during the winter of 1393. The order of carving as seen on the monument is therefore in accord with the order given by the documents. This favors the case for Lamberti's carving of the jamb section in question in 1393, just before he completed the reveal section containing the "Hercules" figurine (June 1393). If this attribution is acceptable, it shows in still another way how close Lamberti at one point was to Giovanni d'Ambrogio and how definitely also he was departing from the older master's style and spirit.

On the basis of these findings I would propose now to complete the provisional diagram presented earlier by a second (text fig. B) with the following additional attributions: to Giovanni d'Ambrogio, Sections IV and VII of the right reveal; to his son Lorenzo (1393), Section I of the

ix pro quolibet brachio dicte pietre intagliate, que ut dixerunt, est in totum 2 braccia et septem partes ex octo partibus alterius brachii, que in totum ascendit ad summam fl. xxv l. III s. v d. VII et sic eidem solvere teneatur et debeat dictus camerarius." (June 3, 1393).

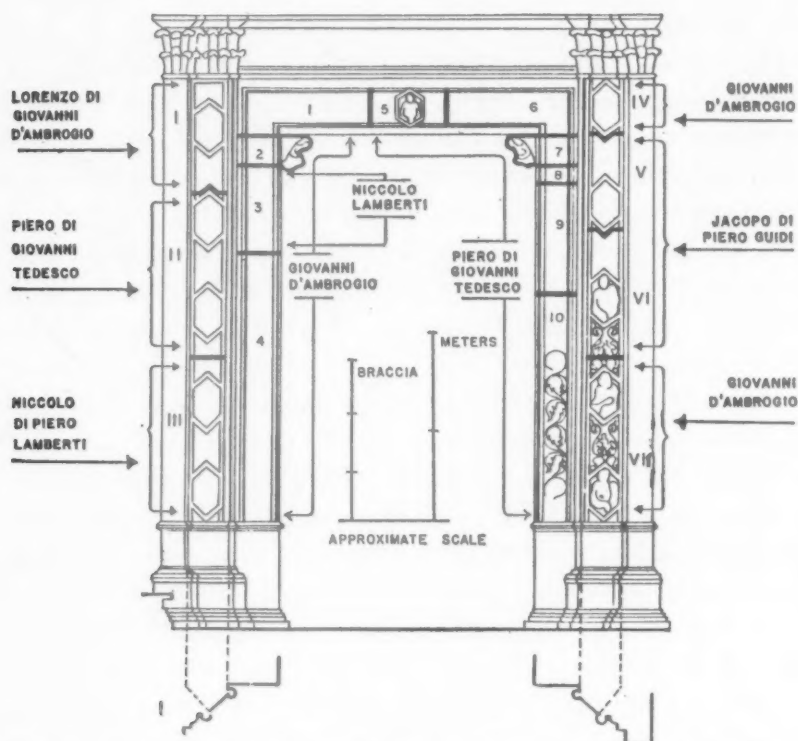
21. The lowest section on the right side is within only two inches of the same length as that in the left. I am indebted to

Dr. Allen Brooks, now of the University of Toronto, for a recent check on these measurements.

22. Several *stemmae* on the Loggia dei Lanzi and two (in association with Giovanni d'Ambrogio) for the Arte della Lana, 1391-1393: A. Venturi, *Storia dell'Arte italiana*, VI, 1908, pp. 607 n. 6 (after C. v. Fabriczy).

23. Poggi, doc. 349.

left reveal; and to Niccolò Lamberti (1393) Section III. It is of course quite possible that in the interim between 1393 and 1396 Lorenzo assisted his father in some of the jamb-and-lintel sections. But the stylistic problem here is slippery. It would take us into a mass of detail for which there is not the space here to treat, and there is no available documentary help. On the other hand, it does seem likely that Section 3 of the left jamb may be Lamberti's work.



B. Porta della Mandorla. Proposed allocation of sculptors for relief sculpture. First Campaign, 1391-1397

One detail of that small section deserves a comment. The little androgynous "pagan" figurine below the putto (Fig. 11) parodies with a mocking smile the blessing gesture of the lowest angel of the "Hercules" section (Fig. 10a) and the lower volute of his scroll repeats precisely the upper volute of the angel's scroll. The correspondences go beyond questions of style. It is as if a sardonic comment were being made upon the novel synthesis of the revived pagan and the mediaeval Christian in the portal's program. This satiric note seems out of character in either Giovanni d'Ambrogio or his son Lorenzo. But it might become a member of the younger generation, as was Lamberti then, with the Florentine wit and independence to recognize that the wedding of the two sources of imagery could have its paradoxes. Equally impressive is the way in which at this date the Florentine interpretation of an antique prototype of the general composition results in a clarified, strengthened, and meaningful new expression (see Fig. 12).

III

Character of this sort hardly fits the modern stereotype of Niccolò Lamberti as an undistinguished laggard behind the "progressive" movement. For this stock image probably a few devastating pages of Adolfo Venturi's survey of Quattrocento sculpture of 1908, at the beginning of Volume VI of his *Storia dell'Arte italiana*, were at the start mainly responsible. It is, of course, equally dangerous to lean too far in the opposite direction as did Venturi's predecessors; nevertheless, some revision of the post-Venturi view is absolutely necessary if the allocation to Lamberti's hand of the important "Hercules" panel of the Porta della Mandorla is to be credible.

One fact stands out. And this is that Lamberti well before the end of the first campaign of the portal captured the full confidence of the *Duomo Operai* and rose dramatically in his career as a master-sculptor. One obvious explanation for this *volte-face* from his situation early in 1393, when he was treated like a beginner of quite uncertain capabilities, could have been his remarkable performance on the section of the portal finished that June. Having stood this test successfully, he was assigned very soon afterwards an apparently important large-scale *Virgin and Child*, now unfortunately either lost or still unidentified.²⁴ In 1396-1401 he shared with Piero di Giovanni Tedesco the over-life-size Church Doctors for the Cathedral façade. Badly mauled by breakage and weather and sadly mutilated as well by a sixteenth century metamorphosis into antique poets, this group is hardly in shape to tell us very much about the quality of the work as it was executed. Lamberti's pair, now in the Museo dell'Opera del Duomo, correctly differentiated from that of the older sculptor by Kauffmann, do however reveal the influence of the antique in the stance.²⁵ The planar treatment of the drapery, of the large head on narrow shoulders, the treatment of the eyes in the one unrecut head are also comparable to the angels of the "Hercules" reveal section (Figs. 14, 10a).

Then in 1401 Lamberti had the distinction of being one of only three Florentines chosen for the Baptistery Doors competition.

During the time of the competition Lamberti and Lorenzo di Giovanni were both once more closely associated in finishing up the standing *Madonna* and the flanking pair of angels which stand under the arch of the Porta dei Canonici on the south side of the Duomo. The documents are far from clear with regard to these three major figures. They seem originally to have been assigned in 1400 to Piero di Giovanni Tedesco.²⁶ Then on his sudden fall from favor and departure from Florence, one of them may have been begun in 1401 by Piero's substitute, Urbano di Andrea da Pavia.²⁷ The *Virgin and Child*, upon which Lamberti worked for a short while, was almost certainly finished by Lorenzo di Giovanni on documentary evidence, and it is likely that Lorenzo could have finished one of the angels by 1402 when it is indicated as ready; in 1402 Lamberti was directed to carve a second angel "similar" to the first, and he was paid for the completed work in 1403.²⁸

As seen today the two angels make a surprising contrast (Fig. 16). They also provide a test case for a reconstruction of the artistic climate in Florence at the time of the Baptistery Doors competition and Lamberti's and Lorenzo's places in it.

There has never been much certainty about the attribution of the angels. Poggi with evident

24. Poggi, docs. 105, 107, 119, 120. Poggi erroneously identified the Arnolfesque *Madonna* of the Museo dell'Opera del Duomo as Lamberti's (pp. xxx-xxxii); it was also identified for a time with the *Madonna della Rosa* of the Physicians' and Apothecaries' niche of Or San Michele (A. Venturi, *Storia dell'Arte italiana*, IV, 1905, p. 147). There is, however, no record of an exchange between the Guild and the Duomo authorities, and the style is not by any means clearly Lamberti's (see below, note 45). Was Lamberti's 1395-1396 *Virgin* for the gable of the façade? This would explain its size and the fact that it was given to a relatively untried sculptor of large-scale statuary at the time.

25. Poggi, docs. 111, 112, 114, 115, 119, 122, 127, 129, 131, 134, 139, 140, 142, 144-146. The subjects allocated to Lamberti were SS. Augustine and Gregory. See W. and E. Paatz, *op.cit.*, III, pp. 574-575 n. 501.

26. Poggi, doc. 141. The commission dated April, 1400 (listed under the façade by Poggi) is for "unam ymagine[m] nostre Domine cum angelis." This group has not been otherwise firmly identified. Piero di Giovanni disappears from Florence and the records of the Duomo after 1400; he appears to have received one payment on the group according to

Poggi (p. LI).

27. Poggi, doc. 151. Urbano di Andrea da Pavia, "de Venetiis," who had either been born in Venice or had just worked there before coming to Florence, received commissions between 1400 and 1401 for no less than four statues for the Duomo. Three seem to have been intended for the decoration of the façade, and of these two were never begun. Nothing remains that has as yet been linked to his hand in Florence; shortly after, a sculptor of the same name is recorded at work on the Cathedral of Milan. Of his Florentine assignments it is barely possible that one figure, for which the document gives no very specific subject and a rather vague measurement of the block of $3\frac{1}{2}$ braccia ("vel circa"), allocated in 1401 after Piero di Giovanni Tedesco's departure, might be one of the three figures of the Porta dei Canonici; given the size of the block it might fit one of the angels. The subject was to have been given by the *capomaestro*—it is obvious that the *Operai* had no clear idea of exactly what Urbano was to carve. Since he left Florence very soon after and there is no further mention of his progress on the mysterious figure, he cannot well have gone very far in the carving.

28. Poggi, docs. 152-154, 158.

doubts felt that the angel to the right (Fig. 16b) might be Lamberti's.²⁹ Only very recently in a survey of the Porta dei Canonici as a whole, Dottoressa Brunetti has returned to the question and reversed Poggi's admittedly uncertain suggestion, giving the angel on the left (Fig. 16a) to Lamberti and explaining the more classicizing angel on the right as a sixteenth century repair or substitution in the style of Giovanni dell'Opera.³⁰ No supporting documentation is offered for this hypothesis, and there is no evidence cited of damage to the architectural details near the figure which might argue for a definite need of a substitution.³¹ One can, and must, ask the question: is the hypothesis warranted?

A return to the first campaign of the Porta della Mandorla offers a way out. Surely on the basis of our earlier findings on the portal the more gracious, "Gothicizing" angel to the left is the one more likely to be connected with Lorenzo's style. The more marked northern characteristics may be explained either by a possible part played in its design by Urbano da Pavia or by the possibility of Lorenzo's being influenced by northern late Gothic style during the period of his absence from Florence after his abrupt departure recorded in 1397.³² This raises once again the possibility that the angel to the right might well be Lamberti's. If so, the classicizing head with locks of hair down the back of the neck, the planar handling of the surfaces of the block presented to the observer, the drapery folds, the relatively coarse and jointless hand all may be interpreted as a plausible progression from the second angel of the lowest section of the right reveal of the Porta della Mandorla (Fig. 10b). The document for Lamberti's Porta dei Canonici angel specifies only that the figure be "like" (*simile*) the pendant figure already in place, and this might apply to pose as well as height and general size (also specified) as well as to quality of workmanship (*factionis*). These requirements the statue now in place seems to fulfill very adequately. There may be from the modern point of view some question as to quality, almost always a subjective matter. But in most ways, the figure to the right, which I would now (returning to Poggi's early suggestion) give to Lamberti, is the more impressive in its effect from street level. And this kind of attention to visual effect from the point of view of the observer is precisely what is most evident in the carving of the "Hercules" figure on the Porta della Mandorla.

Nor is the discrepancy in style between the two angels, admittedly disturbing to a modern eye, necessarily out of place toward the year 1400. Two currents which might seem incompatible were then co-existent in Florence. Each angel appears in a way as an exaggerated affirmation of the trend it represents. To this situation, which of course the extant entries of the absolutely contemporaneous Baptistery Doors competition reflect very vividly, might apply to the passage in Vasari's early pages of the *Vita* of Niccolò d'Arezzo in which are embedded indications of Niccolò Lamberti's career: "la concorrenza d'alcuni giovani che con studio e fatica gareggiando virtuosamente nella scultura s'esercitavano." Thus the right-hand angel may make better sense as a product of the years 1402-1403 than as an hypothetical substitution of the sixteenth century. It is not altogether out of the question to see in it one of the prototypes of the Victoria and Albert pair of adoring angels from Michelozzo's Aragazzi Tomb.³³

29. Poggi, p. LXVII. See W. and E. Paatz (*op.cit.*, III, pp. 485-486 n. 216) for bibliographical references.

30. G. Brunetti, in *Mitteilungen des Kunsthistorischen Instituts in Florenz*, VIII, 1957, pp. 1-12.

31. Not having been able to examine closely either the figures or their setting on a scaffolding as has Dottoressa Brunetti, I am in no position to make a definite statement on the condition. But the physical evidence for the need or desirability of a later recutting or substitution needs to be provided. A somewhat similar argument for a substitution by a later hand was made by Vaccarino (*Nanni*, Florence, 1951, p. 50, figs. 126, 128, 130) in connection with the head of one of the angels of the Assumption frontispiece of the Porta della Mandorla.

32. Poggi, docs. 338-339, 341. Lorenzo di Giovanni was reinstated for work on the Duomo in February 1401 (Poggi, doc. 143).

33. A direct contact by Michelozzo with the Lamberti may have taken place during the construction and decoration of the Cambio niche for Or San Michele between 1418 (when Piero di Niccolò Lamberti was in Florence) and 1420 (when Niccolò Lamberti returned to close up his studio in Florence for good). The two female figures which take the place of finials (the one on the left with definitely "restored" head possibly on the model of a Prophetess on Ghiberti's Doors) are in some ways Michelozzesque (particularly, original head of right-hand figure) but the style of carving is actually very close to the younger Lamberti's Prophets on the left side of



1. Giovanni d'Ambrogio, *Justice*, ca. 1385. Florence, Loggia dei Lanzi (photo: Alinari)



2. Giovanni d'Ambrogio, *Prudence*, ca. 1386. Florence, Loggia dei Lanzi (photo: Alinari)



3-4. Porta della Mandorla Details, 1391-1397, bottom right reveal, here attributed to Giovanni d'Ambrogio (photos: 3. Brogi; 4. Soprintendenza, Florence)



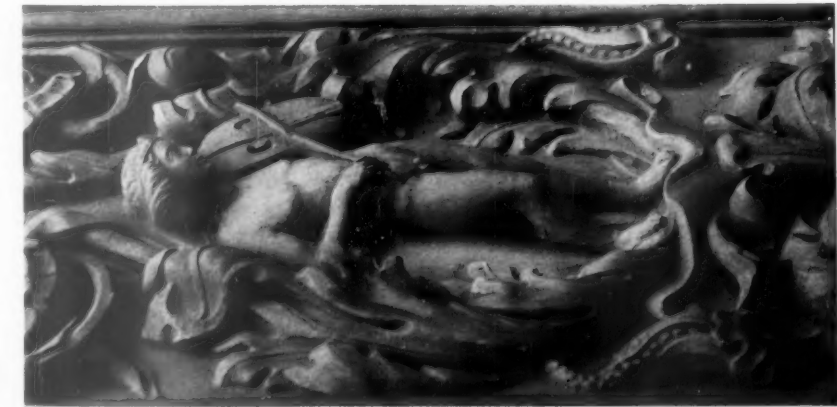
5. Detail, bottom left reveal, 1391(?) - 1393, here attributed to Niccolò Lamberti (photo: Brogi)



6. Details, top left reveal, 1393, here attributed to Lorenzo di Giovanni (photo: Soprintendenza, Florence)



7. Lorenzo di Giovanni, *Prophet*, 1396-1397 (photo: Soprintendenza, Florence)



8. Detail of Fig. 6



a. Lower (earlier) figure



b. Upper (later) figure

9. Detail of Fig. 5



10. Detail, bottom left reveal, here attributed to Niccolò Lamberti



11. Porta della Mandorla Detail, section of left jamb, 1393 here attributed to Niccolò Lamberti (photo: Brogi)



12. Relief-panel, Roman Imperial III cent. Rome, Grotte Vaticane (photo: Anderson)



13. Niccolò Lamberti, Detail of Niche, 1403-1406 Florence, Or San Michele (photo: Brogi)



14. Niccolò Lamberti, *Church Doctor*, 1396-1401. Florence, Museo dell'Opera del Duomo (photo: Soprintendenza)



15. Niccolò Lamberti, *St. Luke*, 1403-1406 Florence, Bargello (photo: Alinari)



17. Niccolò Lamberti, *St. Mark* (1408-1415). Florence Museo dell'Opera del Duomo (photo: Brogi)



a. *Kneeling Angel*, 1401-1402, here attributed to Lorenzo di Giovanni



b. *Kneeling Angel*, 1402-1403, here attributed to Niccolò Lamberti

16. Porta dei Canonici (photo: Brogi)



18. Niche Frontispiece, 1411-1413, here attributed to Niccolò Lamberti, Florence Or San Michele (photo: Brogi)

There is still the pertinent question of Lamberti's development after 1403. Of his competition entry of 1401-1402 unfortunately there remains nothing, not even a trustworthy summary of its character or quality.³⁴ But the key to his style in Florence after 1403 is most likely his reaction to the judgment of the competition which he lost. This momentarily placed Brunelleschi's and Ghiberti's entries *ex aequo* as finalists and for a while thereafter deeply affected taste, patronage, and standards of prestige in Florence.³⁵ In Lamberti's case we find, without much doubt as an influence of Brunelleschi's entry, an abrupt shift of style after the competition. This is to be found in his work in the second campaign of the Porta della Mandorla in his share of the reveal sculpture of the arch.³⁶

During this period, 1404-1409, he was sharply reprimanded for having departed from the agreed design—in this case the norm of style favored by the *capomaestro* Giovanni d'Ambrogio.³⁷ In his more independent commission of both niche and statue at Or San Michele for the Magistrates' and Notaries' Guild from 1403-1404 to 1406, his ornament clarifies and hardens while still accentuating a strict relation to an over-all plane (Fig. 13). The statue (now Bargello) is clearly in a new "hard" style (Fig. 15); the planes of the features are defined very sharply; the hair and beard are abstracted virtually to the point of architectural ornament; the drapery is more rigid, and the pose has a more "Gothic" shift of hip than in the *Church Doctors* commissioned almost a decade earlier (Fig. 14). A combination of northern influences penetrating into Florence at about this time with a Brunelleschian brusqueness of vitality and pronounced shifts of axes might have produced the energetic, small bronze *St. Christopher* dated by inscription 1407 and now in the Boston Museum of Fine Arts; if we may assume in Lamberti as of 1407 a continuing interest in bronze from his experience in competing for the Baptistery Doors commission, an attribution of the Boston figure to his hand has much to commend it.³⁸

A new influence appears in the *St. James Major* of the Furriers' Guild niche of Or San Michele. The elongation and slightly swaying pose are plainly Ghibertesque. Yet in the tiny *istoria* of the saint's martyrdom below the statue the devices of planarity and frontality and the lack of a comfortable spatial volume are not at all characteristic of Ghiberti; but they are characteristic of Lamberti in what I take to be his style in the reveal sculpture of the Porta della Mandorla as well as in the relief below the statue of the Magistrates' and Notaries' Guild niche. Some weakness may possibly be explained by assistance from Lamberti's then young son Piero.³⁹

the central arch of the second story of San Marco, Venice (presumably done in the 1420's). Possibly, besides assisting in the casting and chasing of Ghiberti's great bronze figure for the Cambio niche, Michelozzo had a part in the design of the two minor, but interesting echoes of the Porta della Mandorla: the finial figures (surely Prophetesses, not an Annunciation). Before World War II Ulrich Middeldorf had pointed out the close relation of these figures to Michelozzo's style (a reference to his verbal opinion is given by W. and E. Paatz). In 1940 the late W. R. Valentiner published them as by Michelozzo (in *Art Quarterly*, III, 1940, p. 203). Krautheimer (p. 87 n. 5) leaves open the possibility of Michelozzo's carving of the finial figures after 1437, but the style of carving fits well neither Michelozzo's at that date nor any particular trend in Florence then, and the suggestion warrants caution. In 1419-ca. 1423 (Morisani's dates) Michelozzo was very probably associated in the building of the Strozzi chapel of S. Trinita; the sarcophagus of Onofrio Strozzi placed there was carved by Piero di Niccolò Lamberti—a contact between Michelozzo and the Lamberti is quite possible also in this connection.

34. The piece was probably melted down immediately after the competition. Since Vasari confuses Niccolò d'Arezzo with Niccolò Lamberti, his *ex post facto* critique (difficult to evaluate in any case) has nothing at all certain to offer here.

35. Krautheimer, pp. 78-83.

36. Lamberti worked on the left side of the arch, Nanni

and Antonio di Banco on the right side (including the key-stone). See W. and E. Paatz (*op.cit.*, III, pp. 367, 488 n. 224) for the confusion that at one time arose on the division of labor. The stylistic evidence today, following Kauffmann's analysis of the arch, seems perfectly clear: given as such by Vaccarino (*op.cit.*, 1951, pp. 25-26).

37. Poggi, doc. 367. The document has been used in the past to assert Giovanni d'Ambrogio's authorship of the total design of the portal. This, as Brunetti points out, is to go much too far. What the document shows is an ever-widening rift between Lamberti, still on the track of a "new" style, and the older artist, in 1408 still trying to stem the current and retain the maximum unity between the work of 1391-1397 and of 1404-1409.

38. See G. Swarzenski, in *Bulletin of the Museum of Fine Arts* (Boston), XLIX, 1951, pp. 84ff. This is a remarkably fine article by the much regretted historian and true connoisseur that was Georg Swarzenski. His attribution to Nanni di Banco is not plausible, but his total view of the problem and luminous analysis of form and image lie behind, as a necessary foundation, the attribution suggested here.

39. For a variety of opinion on the *St. James* and the relief below it see: W. and E. Paatz, *op.cit.*, IV, p. 493 n. 93; more recently: J. Pope-Hennessy, *op.cit.*, 1955, p. 209 (to Ciuffagni without supporting reasons); Krautheimer, pp. 71-72 n. 8 ("probably" Niccolò Lamberti). The date is still very un-

Weakening also, despite these commissions for Or San Michele, was Lamberti's position in Florence. The commission for the Linen Drapers' Guild statue of St. Mark for which he once may well have been in line, passed to the rising young Donatello who made the most of the opportunity; Lamberti appears to have retained only the secondary assignment of the sculpture of the niche proper (1411-1413).⁴⁰ The beardless *Christ* (early Christian source?) of the florid frontispiece with its reverse-curve summit is flanked by profile heads taken directly from an antique sarcophagus source, earlier by a decade than Donatello's use of a similar motive (Fig. 18). But Niccolò's last recorded commission for the Duomo was only a gargoyle in the shape of a mastiff's head—a very minor work and not well paid.⁴¹ His departure with his son for Venice shortly after in 1415-1416 must have seemed, as in the event it proved to be, a welcome opportunity to remake a career.⁴²

There is a danger in allowing this disappointing middle period to color our image of the Niccolò Lamberti of the preceding twenty years. His course of development was complex, moving from an early classicizing style in 1393-1403 to a Brunelleschian and then Ghibertian manner and ending finally in 1411-1415 in an effort to reconcile the earlier classicizing tendency with a "florid Gothic" more Venetian than Florentine. One sees the artist also as a complex character—thick-skinned ("Il Pela") yet a prey to rather violent enthusiasms, according to the changing fashion "plus royaliste que le roi," according to the documents both willful and procrastinating, but a temperament of positive force and a hand of real talent. The artist who imagined and carved the noble head and shoulders of the *St. Mark* of 1408-1415 (Fig. 17) was neither inconsequential nor a weakling. Seen from below, as intended, the formal research into the abstract system of interlocking and echoing spirals is remarkably intense, in its intensity beyond any other sculpture of the time save perhaps by Nanni di Banco. In its mingling of the late Gothic and the late antique something of the power and originality of the reveal panel which logic says he must have carved in the first campaign of the Porta della Mandorla lingers on here. But unlike that reveal panel in 1393, the *St. Mark* was already by the date of its completion in 1415 "out of date" in Florence.

Possibly, had he lived, the gentler Lorenzo di Giovanni d'Ambrogio might have adapted more successfully to the changing atmosphere of early Quattrocento Florence than did his only slightly older collaborator and rival, Niccolò Lamberti. Just before the probable date of his untimely death in 1405 Lorenzo appears to have shared equally with Lamberti in the extremely important commission of the four seated Evangelists for the façade of the Duomo, at street level, somewhat above the head of the observer, flanking the main portal.⁴³ Lamberti retained in the ultimate

certain. I think that it would depend on the likely date of influence from Ghiberti to which the younger man, Piero di Niccolò (born ca. 1393?), would probably have been more receptive than his father: at a guess around 1410 (Krautheimer: 1405-1410). Both datings in themselves pretty well eliminate Ciuffagni even if the evidence of style were not against that attribution. Ciuffagni later shows some influence from Lamberti in his *Isaiah* of 1423-1425 (now Duomo). Possibly in his absence from Florence, 1417-1422, he was working for a while with the Lamberti in Venice.

40. Janson (p. 18) validly rejects any part by Lamberti in the statue as conceived and as carved. But his argument that Lamberti was hired in 1409 merely as a kind of "marble expert" to produce a suitable block from the Carrara quarries (on the strength of an earlier journey by Lamberti to rough out marble at the quarry in 1405) may lead to a false impression. The document of 1405 (Poggi, doc. 162) when read in context with a still earlier trip to Carrara by Lamberti (Poggi, docs. 108-109, 114, 122) reveals that in 1405 Niccolò, with Lorenzo di Giovanni, was most probably sent to block out marble for statues that they were to carve and finish

themselves as "sculptors." The practice of sending the sculptor to the quarry, an economy measure, was to die out soon after 1420: it was easiest, safest, and cheapest to ship up via Pisa to Signa (and then transfer to ox-cart) a block reduced as far as possible toward its final form, and the sculptor's judgment as to how far to go in reducing the block was obviously important. The chances of Lamberti's being in view as the recipient of the Drapers' commission in 1409 are therefore more in favor than not. The evidence for Lamberti's design of the Drapers' niche and the execution of the sculpture on it is stylistic: compare the design and sculpture of the niche for which he had carved the statue of St. Luke by 1406 (Photograph: Soprintendenza alle Gallerie, Florence, no. 42155). The artisans Perfetto di Giovanni and Albizzo di Pietro mentioned in a contract of 1411 were most probably responsible for the interior inlay-work and the execution of the structural-decorative elements, but not the sculpture.

41. Poggi, doc. 422.

42. G. Fiocco, "I Lamberti a Venezia—I," *Dedalo*, VIII, 1927-1928, pp. 287-314.

43. Poggi, docs. 159, 162-163. I interpret Lorenzo's journey

allocation only one of these statues (the *St. Mark*); of the other three, as is well enough known, two passed to the younger Donatello and Nanni di Banco in 1408 and the last to Ciuffagni in 1410. Lorenzo is then, with Lamberti, an essential figure in the "prehistory" of the program before it was allocated in 1408-1410 although he could have had time to do little more than the roughing out of the blocks for his two figures.⁴⁴ Some idea of how he might have treated the theme of the seated draped figure may perhaps be had from the beautiful and interesting *Madonna della Rosa* of the Physicians' and Apothecaries' niche of Or San Michele in which he could conceivably have had part if not entire responsibility.⁴⁵ But beyond his work on the Porta dei Canonici, veiled by collaboration, there is nothing more that I know in Florence that can be given to him. Perhaps his historical role is important for work still unrecognized outside of Florence, done during an unspecified period between 1397 and 1401 and also between 1402 and 1405. If, as seems most probable, part of that time was spent in Venice, Lorenzo may one day be seen as a forerunner not only of the Lamberti but of the many other Florentines in Venice and its neighbor Padua of the first half of the Quattrocento. Even so, enough appears to remain from his hand in Florence before 1400 to ensure a permanent place in history for his graceful innovations.

IV

Movement and interchange: these are indeed dominant characteristics of the period immediately preceding and immediately following 1400. The larger the urban center, the greater was the interchange of influences. Yet the fundamental, age-old Italian localism of the region and the city-state remains intact below the surface. Thus, in the first campaign of the Porta della Mandorla there is a Florentine character, both as to program and artistic personalities involved. The older masters of the campaign had worked on Florentine programs earlier, and the style of Giovanni d'Ambrogio which I have emphasized with a purpose, is a distinctly Florentine version of the broader expression of Italian style of the last quarter of the Trecento. In the close-knit yet individualistic group of sculptors chosen to work on the portal between 1391 and 1397 there seems to be no place for an anonymous master nor for a non-Florentine barely beyond the apprentice stage such as Jacopo della Quercia.

This is not to say that the influence of the "younger" styles (which emerged by 1393 and were out in the open in all probability by 1398 at the end of the first campaign for all to see) was not on the whole incisive and far-reaching. To such influence, rather than to actual participation in the campaign, I would attribute the resemblances noted by Dottoressa Brunetti between Quercia's work and elements of the first campaign of the portal. Ghiberti also appears to have been influenced by both the young Lamberti and Lorenzo di Giovanni in his competition entry, but it was

to Carrara with Niccolò Lamberti in 1405 "ad disgrossandum" as preliminary to a formal assignment (which never eventuated because of Lorenzo's death) between the two of the Evangelist statues (see note 40 above). These seated statues were most probably finally carved from the blocks roughed out at Carrara by the two sculptors in 1405. Four other blocks which had been held up in Pisa by the Milanese war were delivered at about the same time and have been confused in the literature with the blocks roughed out by Lorenzo di Giovanni and Lamberti for the Evangelists. The Milanese war was over in 1402; the other four blocks must therefore have been ordered before then. They probably were for a group of four large (standing?) Prophets allocated as a joint commission in 1401 to Lamberti and Urbano da Pavia (Poggi, doc. 149).

44. The available published documents of the Duomo archives represent thus far the basis of our knowledge of Lorenzo di Giovanni's career; they are silent in his regard after June 25, 1405. Brunetti (*op.cit.*, 1951, p. 13) announces

a documented study of the question of his death date which she indicates as occurring in 1405.

45. For opinions which have tended to converge on Lamberti's authorship see W. and E. Paatz, *op.cit.*, IV, p. 493 n. 94ff.; more recently, J. Pope-Hennessy, *op.cit.*, 1955, p. 209 (Lamberti without supporting reasons) and Krautheimer, p. 71 (Lamberti on the basis of general consensus). I do not wish to interfere with or anticipate Dottoressa Brunetti's work on this statue, which I hope will be published soon. In conversation she has indicated her belief that it was carved not by Lamberti but by Lorenzo di Giovanni; there are possibly still a very few Lambertesque elements in the style, which recalls somewhat the standing *Virgin and Child* of the Porta dei Canonici, apparently a work of collaboration. If it is actually to be dated by the inscription on the base of the niche as of 1399, the statue is an important piece; it is unfortunately not documented.

Lamberti with his planar monumental style who appears to have struck Brunelleschi between 1398 and 1401 the more forcibly.⁴⁶

The contrast between the two styles of the "younger" sculptors of the portal's first campaign is already noticeable by 1393. It is possible on one level of interpretation to call one lyric and "Gothicizing" (Lorenzo di Giovanni) and the other epic and "classicizing" (Lamberti to 1403). These were two trends that were brought together in differing ways by Ghiberti and Brunelleschi in 1401-1402 and that stand in such startling juxtaposition as between the heads and drapery of the Annunciation group of the Museo dell'Opera del Duomo and in calmer contrast as between the effigy and sarcophagus of Quercia's monument to Ilaria dei Guinigi in Lucca. The period of 1391-1397 saw the emergence of these two trends together. The period of 1401-1410 was concerned with their development and reconciliation.

Thus it would seem that there is good reason to situate the Annunciation group as well as the Ilaria outside, and beyond, the period of the first campaign of the Porta della Mandorla; they face, not the problem of bringing into a new and clarified expression *one* of the two elements (as in the cases of Lorenzo di Giovanni and the young Lamberti) but the problem of their fusion. For Nanni di Banco, in particular, during this second phase, after 1400, the experience of dealing with both elements appears to have been a lifelong task and stimulus. The effort of fusion first appears to have attracted him, as in the *Isaiah* of 1408, for which a preliminary step may well have been the intense, hard-thought *Annunciation* of the Museo dell'Opera del Duomo.⁴⁷ The connection of the Annunciation group with the name of Nanni di Banco is, of course, by no means new. It is, however, a matter of controversy today and to treat it with anything like the detail it deserves would require a whole new essay. It is to be hoped that enough has been said above to link the group more firmly with the period 1400-1410 rather than the earlier period 1391-1397, and thus ultimately to help to make a Nanni attribution more plausible. The particular interaction of classicizing and Gothicizing elements the group contains not only differs radically from Quercia's early, rather painterly, style; it appears in precisely such an intense dramatic yet experimental form as might be expected of Nanni's earliest phase if we were to "read back" toward it from the generally accepted *St. Eligio*, *Quattro Coronati*, and *Isaiah* in that order. Evidently, as spirit and subject of varying programs seemed to require, he played like a master on both instruments of style alternatively, and finally together on the great Mandorla *Assumption*.

In the young Donatello's case the influence of Ghiberti must have been extremely important, as current scholarship has been stressing. But his first recorded independent work was after all as a stone carver and on the Porta della Mandorla itself. The art of the portal's first campaign must have had an impact upon him. The *David* of 1408-1409 in fact owes a good deal to Lorenzo di Giovanni's *Angel* of the reveal sculpture (Fig. 6): much of the slender grace of the *David*, its

46. Krautheimer (pp. 52-53) ascribes an important role to the first campaign of the Porta della Mandorla among the influences on Ghiberti's competition entry—particularly the work of the younger masters, which he groups under the authorship of the "Hercules Master" and which I see as the differentiated work of the young Lamberti and Lorenzo di Giovanni. The main point here is Ghiberti's apparently discriminating study of both styles. Brunelleschi, on the other hand, does not seem to have been in the least attracted to the style of Lorenzo di Giovanni. The flattened, planar relief in his entry, more pronounced than in the work attributed to him on the Pistoia silver altar, is in direct relation with Lamberti's, in turn closer to Imperial Roman Severan relief than either Lorenzo di Giovanni's or Ghiberti's more spatial style. It is noteworthy that Niccolò Lamberti had a strong architectural bent and received commissions for design and construction (main door of Or San Michele, façade of the Cathedral of Prato, later work in Bologna).

47. The troubled question of the Annunciation group, a key

monument in Early Renaissance sculpture, is too complicated to be settled in a footnote. In my view the group belongs in the second, not the first, campaign of the portal and though not mentioned in the available documents as far as assignment and payment are concerned, may well have been so mentioned in the two missing semesters of 1406-1407 of the *Deliberazioni*. In his recent and in most ways convincing handling of the problem of the two beardless Prophets of the finials, H. W. Janson (pp. 219-222) finds no place for the Museo dell'Opera Annunciation group in his reconstruction of the installation of sculpture on the portal from 1414 to 1423. This view raises several debatable points. A case on the other hand can be made not only for the final installation in 1414 or shortly thereafter of the Museo dell'Opera group, but also for Nanni di Banco's authorship of that group as his first essay in statuary. I dislike leaving the question dangling here but intend to publish a full treatment of the problem in a volume on Quattrocento sculpture for the Pelican Series now in preparation.

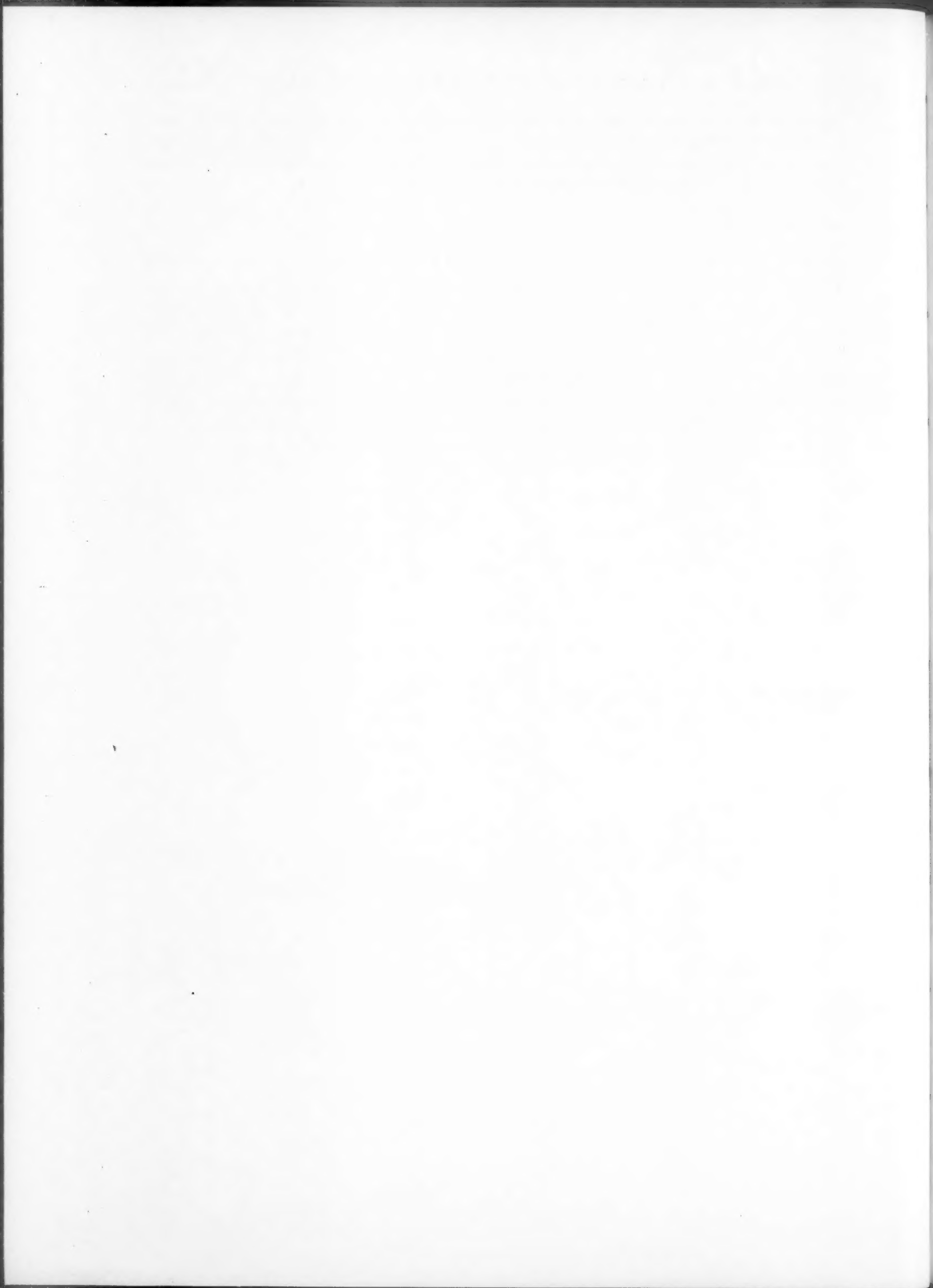
smooth plasticity, its reverse-curve armature, to some extent its soft nostalgic mood and more specifically the telling gesture of pressure in one hand in which the index and middle fingers alone are extended, later to become a kind of hallmark for Donatello's most idiosyncratic statuary clear to the *John the Baptists* of the Frari in Venice and in Siena.⁴⁸

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48. See H. W. Janson (1, pls. 1-4, 74, 322, 338, 347). Janson's decisive removal of both young Prophets from Donatello's oeuvre is not only a brilliant piece of work in itself, but it opens up in a new way the question of Donatello's early formation. The motif of the extended fingers mentioned above does not appear to be original with the artist I take to be Lorenzo di Giovanni. It occurs earlier in a statue of the Trecento which appears to have once stood on the Duomo façade (illustration, Poggi, fig. 53). It may be argued perhaps that Donatello went directly back to this source, but I would think that the chances were greater by far that he took the motif from the more recent composition on the Porta della Mandorla which has in general far more to do with his style of 1408 than the earlier figure. This by and large contradicts all aspects of his style except the striking and rather

strained action of the hands. He may have returned to the Trecento prototype in this respect later.

This does not mean that the work of the younger masters of the first campaign of the Porta della Mandorla should be considered as the *fons et origo* of the styles of the Florentine "giants": Donatello, Ghiberti, Nanni di Banco, Brunelleschi. But there should be by now no question as to the pivotal position of the "younger masters" of the portal as part of the formation of what we call Early Renaissance style. In the decade 1390-1400, they made a decisive break with Late Trecento norms; they altered a stylistic climate; they raised important issues for a later humanist art; they defined basic alternatives; and they did all this, not as anonymous tools of history, but as individuals and artists.



THE SOURCES OF DONATELLO'S PULPITS IN SAN LORENZO

REVIVAL AND FREEDOM OF CHOICE IN THE EARLY RENAISSANCE*

IRVING LAVIN

THE bronze pulpits executed by Donatello for the church of San Lorenzo in Florence confront the investigator with something of a paradox.¹ They stand today on either side of Brunelleschi's nave in the last bay toward the crossing.² The one on the left side (facing the altar, see text fig.) contains six scenes of Christ's earthly Passion, from the Agony in the Garden through the Entombment (Fig. 1); that on the right contains five of the post-Passion miracles, from the Marys at the Tomb through the Pentecost, and in addition the Martyrdom of St. Lawrence (Fig. 2).

The pulpits have been recognized almost universally as key monuments of the master's final years; and yet possibly less is known about them than about any other of his major works. To begin with, not a single document relating to their commission or execution has survived. Vasari and others relate that, ordered by Cosimo de' Medici, they were left unfinished when Donatello died (1466), and had to be completed by workshop assistants.³ The pulpits do in fact present a number of stylistic anomalies that create delicate problems of attribution—problems which, owing to insufficient evidence, may never be fully resolved.⁴

Nevertheless, agreement is by now fairly general that Donatello was responsible for the basic conception.⁵ But if so, he brought together such a bewildering variety of elements, formal as well as iconographical, that it becomes essential to determine whether some reasonable principle might have governed his selections. This question is perhaps capable of solution, and the present paper is intended as a preliminary step in that direction. The procedure will be to define systematically, at least in general terms, the kinds of material that Donatello utilized in designing both

* The author wishes to record his gratitude to Professors Karl Lehmann and H. W. Janson, who guided the initial stages of this investigation at the Institute of Fine Arts, New York University. Professors Erwin Panofsky, Martin Weinberger, and Ulrich Middeldorf were kind enough to read various drafts of the manuscript, offering important criticisms and suggestions. Several improvements accrued from stimulating conversations with Messrs. Clarence Kennedy, James Hodgson, and Albert Meisel. Without the support and encouragement of Dr. W. W. S. Cook the research would never have been undertaken.

1. For a complete summary of information concerning the Pulpits, see now the definitive catalogue of Donatello's oeuvre by H. W. Janson, *The Sculpture of Donatello*, Princeton, 1957, II, pp. 209ff. (hereinafter referred to as Janson); also H. Kauffmann, *Donatello*, Berlin, 1935, pp. 177ff.; M. Semrau, *Donatello's Kanzeln in San Lorenzo* (Italienische Forschungen zur Kunstgeschichte II), Breslau, 1891. The pulpits are most commonly dated ca. 1460-1466 (see Janson, pp. 214-215, but also note 4 below).

2. This, however, was not their original position; see below, p. 23 and note 29.

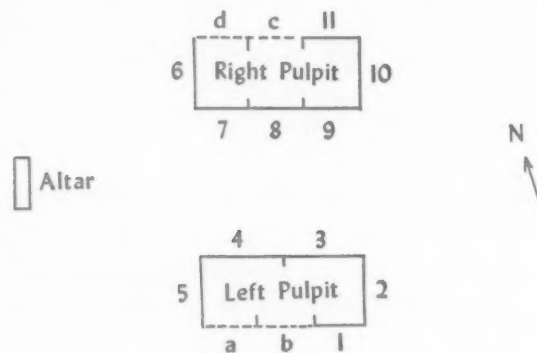
3. Vasari, *Le vite* . . . , ed. G. Milanesi, Florence, 1878-1885, II, pp. 416, 425; VII, pp. 141-142; Vespasiano da Bisticci, *Life of Cosimo de' Medici*, ed. A. Mai, *Spicilegium romanum*, Rome, 1839-1844, I, p. 341 (Milanesi, *ed.cit.*, II, p. 421 n. 1);

Baccio Bandinelli, Letter to Duke Cosimo of Florence, December 7, 1547, in G. Bottari and S. Ticozzi, *Raccolta di lettere* . . . , Milan, 1822-1825, I, pp. 71f. All the references are quoted in translation by Janson.

4. Vespasiano da Bisticci (*loc.cit.*) speaks of four assistants, only two of whom (Bellano and Bertoldo) are known from Vasari; see also U. Middeldorf, review of Kauffmann, *ART BULLETIN*, XVIII, 1936, p. 579 n. 14. There is evidence, however, to support the hypothesis that some of the stylistic discrepancies may have a chronological explanation. The pulpits are usually dated to the period between Donatello's final return to Florence from Siena about 1460 and his death in 1466. But for several reasons (relationships to Mantegna in the left pulpit, the generally more rationalistic organization of certain of its scenes compared with most of those on the right), it seems possible that in part the pulpits may have been conceived earlier, after Donatello's return from Venice and before he went to Siena, i.e. 1453-1457. See the arguments for this possibility in the writer's M.A. thesis, "The Sources of Donatello's Bronze Pulpits in San Lorenzo," New York University, 1951, pp. 69ff.; now also the review of Janson in *The Times Literary Supplement*, September 5, 1958, p. 490, col. 5, and J. Pope-Hennessy, *Italian Renaissance Sculpture*, New York, 1958, pp. 286ff., esp. p. 288.

5. Cf. Janson, p. 217.

the over-all form of the pulpits and the individual scenes. We shall find that several important observations can be made on the basis of information thus obtained. Of no less interest, however, is the material that Donatello rejected. And from the combination of evidence, direct as well as indirect, it will appear that Donatello's reaction to tradition was indeed consistent, and of perhaps unsuspected significance.



PULPITS IN SAN LORENZO

LEFT PULPIT

- a. *Flagellation of Christ*
- b. *St. John the Evangelist*
1. *Christ on the Mount of Olives*
2. *Christ before Pilate and Caiphas*
3. *Crucifixion*
4. *Lamentation*
5. *Entombment*

RIGHT PULPIT

6. *Three Marys at the Tomb*
7. *Christ in Limbo*
8. *Resurrection*
9. *Ascension*
10. *Pentecost*
11. *Martyrdom of St. Lawrence*
- c. *Evangelist Luke*
- d. *Mocking of Christ*

(Numbered scenes are original; lettered scenes are later additions.)

From the earliest Christian times the recitation of extracts from the Bible had formed an integral part of the liturgy of the mass.⁶ The recitations are generally two in number: the Epistle, which is read first and consists usually of selections from the letters or the Acts of the Apostles, and the lesson from the Gospel. In some churches, two pulpits or *ambos* were employed for the readings,⁷ and it became a universal rule, replete with symbolism, that in an oriented church the Gospel be read from the north side, the Epistle from the south.⁸

Compared to single pulpits, which are among the most ancient of church furnishings, the use of paired pulpits in this fashion seems to have been neither a very early nor a very widespread custom.⁹ Preserved examples, at any rate, are relatively rare, most notable being those of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries in the Roman basilicas such as San Clemente and Santa Maria

6. For an account of the evolution of the liturgical lessons, see J. A. Jungmann, *Missarum Sollemnia*, English ed., *The Mass of the Roman Rite*, New York, 1, 1951, pp. 391ff.

7. For *ambos* and pulpits generally, cf. C. Rohault de Fleury, *La Messe*, Paris, 1883-1889, III, pp. 1ff.; F. Cabrol, *Dictionnaire d'archéologie chrétienne et de liturgie*, Paris, 1907-1953, I, cols. 1330ff., *Enciclopedia italiana*, Rome-Milan, 1909-1948, II, pp. 793ff., XXVIII, pp. 532ff.

8. According to mediaeval directional symbolism the north is the seat of evil; hence the women were restricted to that side of the church, and hence the Gospel is to be read there in order to combat evil the more effectively; e.g., Honorius of Autun (first half of the 12th century):

... secundum solitum morem se ad aquilonem vertit (i.e., Diaconus) ubi feminae stant, quae carnales significant, quia Evangelium carnalis ad spiritualia vocat. Per aquilonem quoque diabolus designatur, qui per Evangelium impugnatur. Per aquilonem enim infidelis populus denotatur, cui Evangelium praedicatur, ut ad Christum convertatur.

Gemma animae 1, 22 (Migne, *Patrologia Latina*, vol. 172, col. 551)

The development of this tradition and its relation to paired pulpits is discussed by J. Sauer, *Symbolik des Kirchengebäudes*, Freiburg i. B., 1924, pp. 87ff., and Jungmann, *op.cit.*, I, pp. 412ff.

The church of San Lorenzo is "wested" (i.e., the altar is in the west); but the liturgical directions take precedence, and for purposes of symbolism left facing the altar (the "Gospel side") is equivalent to north. The earliest mention of Donatello's pulpits (Albertini, *Memoriale di molte statue e pitture della città di Firenze*, 1510, ed. Milanesi, Florence, 1863, p. 11) speaks of "Pergami di bronzo per Evangelio et Epistola." See below, and Janson's remarks (pp. 211ff.) refuting Kauffmann's hypothesis (*op.cit.*, pp. 178f.) that they were intended as singer tribunes.

9. Cabrol, *op.cit.*, col. 1339; the earliest instance of which I am aware is on the St. Gall plan (820).

in Cosmedin.¹⁰ Whether single or double these early pulpits had no fixed shape, but might be round, rectangular, or polygonal; and while their decoration might be very rich, it was nearly always entirely abstract or symbolical.

In contrast to this fluid situation, a relatively fixed tradition emerged with a monumental series of single pulpits produced in Tuscany during the Romanesque period.¹¹ Beginning in 1162 with the pulpit (now in Cagliari) executed by Guglielmo "of Innsbruck" for the Duomo of Pisa,¹² the series includes examples in San Michele at Groppoli, the Cathedral of Volterra, San Leonardo in Arcetri (Fig. 3), Florence, the Cathedral of Barga, and ends in 1250 with the pulpit signed by Guido da Como in San Bartolommeo in Pantano, Pistoia. Among Tuscan Romanesque pulpits these form a coherent group, with two main traits: they are all rectangular, and they are all supplied with a rich sculptural decoration of scenes from the life of Christ. Thereafter, the decoration of pulpits with narrative reliefs remained one of the focal points for the development of Italian sculpture. The oblong format, on the other hand, became obsolete when Nicola Pisano adopted the regular polygon for his Pisa and Siena pulpits. The central plan then became the norm through the whole Gothic period, setting the standard until Donatello created his pair in San Lorenzo.¹³

It is clear even from this brief sketch that certain basic features of the San Lorenzo pulpits are revivals of traditions that were distinctly antiquated by the middle of the fifteenth century. In the first place they are two in number and, as we have seen, paired pulpits were not produced after the thirteenth century. It is even possible that the revival in this respect was of a specifically Roman usage.¹⁴ At the same time, the oblong shape indicates that Donatello chose to disregard the centralized arrangement in vogue up to then and return to the simpler type favored in Tuscany during the Romanesque. He may also have referred to the early Tuscan group in the bipartite division of the front of his left pulpit, for which a precedent had occurred, for example, in the pulpit of San Leonardo in Arcetri (Fig. 3). This juxtaposition makes it clear, moreover, that the Tuscan tradition paved the way for Donatello's classicizing framework, including the projecting cornice and decorated molding.¹⁵

But the same point of comparison also reveals the huge gulf that, in the last analysis, separates Donatello's pulpits from their mediaeval forerunners, in both the quantity and quality of influences from classical antiquity.¹⁶ In fact, despite the precedents in pulpit tradition for an oblong shape, the size, proportions, and general impression of Donatello's works have much more the flavor of ancient sarcophagi than of mediaeval pulpits. The idea of a frieze of putti at the top of the composition finds no parallel in mediaeval examples;¹⁷ rather, it derives from Roman

10. Also Santa Maria in Aracoeli, San Lorenzo fuori le Mura; Rohault de Fleury, *op.cit.*, III, pp. 39ff., 51ff.

11. Cf. F. P. Zauner, "Die Kanzeln Toskanas aus der romanischen Stilperiode," Diss., Munich, 1915; W. Biehl, *Toskanische Plastik des frühen und hohen Mittelalters* (Kunst-historisches Institut Florenz, Italienische Forschungen, N.F. 2), Leipzig, 1926.

12. Presently set up as two separate pulpits. Biehl (*op.cit.*, p. 110 n. 66) advances persuasive arguments for considering that they originally formed a single pulpit with two lecterns, for the Gospel and the Epistle. *Sed contra*, R. Zech, "Meister Wilhelm von Innsbruck und die Pisaner Kanzel im Dome zu Cagliari," Diss., Königsberg, 1935, pp. 138f. In any event, the work was sent from Pisa to Cagliari in the early 14th century so that a direct influence on Donatello (as Janson, p. 213, points out) is improbable.

13. Notable exceptions are Guglielmo d'Agnello's pulpit in San Giovanni Fuoricivitas, Pistoia (Fig. 4, 1270) and the presumably rectangular outdoor pulpit at Prato Cathedral (1357-1360) replaced by that of Donatello and Michelozzo (Janson, pp. 112f.); the pulpit in Santa Chiara, Naples,

with 14th century reliefs of the life of St. Catherine (A. Venturi, *Storia dell'arte italiana*, Milan, 1901-1940, IV, fig. 224, p. 313) is an 18th century reconstruction. The Brunelleschi-Bugigiano pulpit in Santa Maria Novella, Florence (1443-1452) is round; other Florentine centralized pulpits close in date to the San Lorenzo pair are cited below, note 96; see also Semrau, *op.cit.*, p. 13.

14. Perhaps considered in the 15th century to be "ancient," or Early Christian; see below, note 30. It should also be noted that two pulpits are found in the cathedrals of Ravenna and Salerno (Rohault de Fleury, *op.cit.*, III, pp. 41, 42, 54).

15. See note 17.

16. A few instances will be considered below; for a detailed discussion see Lavin, *op.cit.*, Chap. 1.

17. Janson (p. 215 nn. 6, 7) convincingly attributes the cornices and the putti friezes to assistants who completed the pulpits after Donatello's death. But there is good reason to suppose that something of the sort was originally intended. The pilasters on the left pulpit were cast, at least in part, together with the scenes themselves, so that an architectural setting must be assumed; fluted pilasters of course imply an

sarcophagi, which often have such friezes on their lids (Fig. 5).¹⁸ Not only the over-all structure, but individual details throughout the narrative scenes reflect that careful study of ancient monuments which had been such a potent force in Donatello's art from the beginning; now it is making its contribution to the expressive vocabulary of his latest style.

One is tempted to conclude that Donatello's revival of earlier pulpit traditions was simply a by-product of his desire to recreate classical forms. And this might be a satisfactory view were it not for the fact that several noteworthy features in the San Lorenzo pulpits cannot be explained on the basis of earlier pulpits or the inspiration of antiquity. The right pulpit, for instance, is longer and lower than the other, and is divided into three sections.¹⁹ A similar tripartite disposition had occurred in Guido da Como's pulpit in Pistoia,²⁰ but as part of an entirely different conception which separates the panel into two horizontal registers with a different scene in each. Furthermore, on both pulpits, and most consistently on the one on the left, Donatello has placed figures in front of the members that separate the scenes.²¹ Generically they might be related to lectern figures such as those on Guglielmo's pulpit in Pistoia (Fig. 4), or with the statues between the panels on the various pulpits of the Pisani. But the similarity is only generic, since the earlier figures are completely out of scale with those in the narrative scenes, while in Donatello they are the same size; and because the earlier figures remain independent, while in Donatello they twist and turn and are intimately linked to the narrative.

There exists, however, one type of monument in which all these elements may be found together, namely, fourteenth century sarcophagi of the type produced by the Sienese pupil of Giovanni Pisano, Tino di Camaino. Two of Tino's tombs are well preserved, that of Cardinal Petroni (d. 1314) in the Duomo of Siena, and that of Gastone della Torre (d. 1318) in Santa Croce, Florence (Fig. 8).²² In each case the sarcophagus is rather long and low, and is divided into three sections by figures (evangelists) in relaxed poses on virtually the same scale as those in the narratives. Each section, as well as each side, is devoted to a Christological subject.

But the relationship to these tombs (with which Donatello was certainly familiar, since he actually worked in both buildings at various points in his career) may be more than simply formal. The scenes represented on Tino's sarcophagi are constant: the *Doubting Thomas*, the *Resurrection*, and the *Noli me Tangere* on the front; the *Marys at the Tomb* and the *Meeting at Emmaus* on the sides. The significance of these subjects in their funereal context is plain; they represent the Christian promise to the deceased of eternal life and salvation, as witnessed by the miraculous resurrection and appearances of the Savior. Donatello uses much the same sort of program on his right pulpit, with what we shall find to be the same implications. Moreover, the two scenes that Donatello's pulpit actually has in common with the sarcophagi, the *Resurrection* and the *Marys at the Tomb*, are placed in analogous locations—the *Marys at the Tomb* on the side, the *Resurrection* in the center.²³

The observations presented thus far make it apparent that Donatello's pulpits are a fusion of at least four main components; 1) the mediaeval custom of paired pulpits; 2) the oblong

architrave and cornice, and suggest a decorated frieze. Moreover, since Donatello, as Janson observes (p. 217), probably left wax models in varying stages of completion for each of the narrative scenes, it seems only natural that he provided some indication of the framework in which they were to be set. Most likely, however, the indication was less circumstantial than for the narrative panels, and the assistants had to work out the details on their own.

18. Now in the Palazzo dei Conservatori, Rome, formerly Museo Capitolino; K. Robert, *Die antiken Sarkophag-reliefs*, Berlin, 1890-1952, III, 2, no. 236, pp. 305ff.

19. Left pulpit 137 x 280 cm; right pulpit 123 x 292 cm.

20. Biehl, *op.cit.*, pls. 154ff.

21. Some of the figures are missing; the Entombment panel on the side (Fig. 18) gives the clearest impression of what they were to be like.

22. W. R. Valentiner, *Tino di Camaino*, Paris, 1935, pp. 47ff., 59ff., pls. 18ff., 21ff.

23. Exactly the same as on the Petroni Tomb; on the della Torre monument the *Marys at the Tomb* is at the right side. The general relationship of the pulpits to ancient sarcophagi and to the Tino tombs has also been noted by W. Braunsfels, *Die Auferstehung*, Düsseldorf, 1951, p. xx.

shape and sculptural narrative of the Tuscan Romanesque pulpit tradition; 3 and 4) the basic formal qualities of antique and Trecento sarcophagi.

The last two impart to the pulpits a strong sepulchral connotation which makes it possible, I think, to grasp the sense of Donatello's particular choice of sources. Surely he intended to call to mind a sepulcher; not a mediaeval one, nor a classical one, but the ideal sepulcher of Christ, through which the redemption of mankind as represented in the narrative panels was achieved. The allusion had a solid foundation in pulpit symbolism; as early as the thirteenth century, the great liturgist Sicardus had likened the bishop who mounts the pulpit to Him who bore the Cross and endured the Passion:

Transcendat etiam imitatione Dominicae passionis, se ipsum abnegando crucem bajulando, et in cruce Domini gloriando; quia Dominus regnavit a ligno; quia Dominus regnavit a ligno; transcendat autem in fidei soliditate, et se vicarium Christi ostendat, qui est lapis angularis inter utrumque medius, sicut et hic est inter clerum et populum collocatus.²⁴

In this context may be further understood certain peculiarities in the choice and distribution of the subjects on the pulpits. Whereas earlier pulpits had included events from the whole Christological cycle, Donatello restricts himself to the Passion and the post-Passion. Moreover, the San Lorenzo pair is unparalleled to my knowledge in dividing the series, with the events of the Passion on the left pulpit, the post-Passion miracles on the right. Through the distribution of the narrative the pulpits illustrate, respectively, the fundamental Christian themes of Death and Resurrection, Sacrifice and Salvation. Hence the importance of the fact that there are *two* pulpits, flanking the altar; the altar comes between them theologically no less than topographically. For it is the sacrifice taking place at the altar that joins the two ideas represented on the pulpits and establishes the essential unity of the Christian mystery. And finally, an explanation may be found here for the extraordinary omission of one of the most important scenes in the Passion sequence, the Last Supper. Evidently the altar itself, between the two pulpits, takes the place of the Last Supper in consummating the mystery and supplying the miraculous link.²⁵

A remarkable corollary for these observations is that the San Lorenzo pulpits to this day are employed only for the reading of the lessons, and only during Holy Week, the time of special reference to the Passion.²⁶ In the lessons for this period, moreover, no events prior to the Passion are included, the same restriction we have noted as peculiar to the pulpits.²⁷ It would seem that the Eucharistic symbolism they embody may have been inspired in the first instance by the service they actually performed. This in turn permits another valuable inference. One of the important facts of liturgical history is that during the later Middle Ages the lessons yielded to preaching their former pre-eminence as a means of communicating doctrine; they became, for the laity, "a mere symbol."²⁸ Thus, even from the purely functional point of view, Donatello's pulpits, being used for the lessons rather than the sermon, involve a return to antiquated practice. We can go yet a step further. As preaching became the primary form of indoctrination there developed a tendency to move the pulpit away from the altar and closer to the congregation.²⁹ Under these circumstances it is significant that the San Lorenzo pulpits, as has recently been proved, were originally meant to be attached to the crossing piers directly opposite the altar.³⁰

24. *Mitrale*, I, 4 (Migne, *Patr. lat.*, vol. 213, col. 22).

25. At the same time the altar, signifying the Last Supper, takes its place in the proper narrative sequence, i.e., before the Agony in the Garden, with which Donatello's cycle begins.

26. I am indebted to Mons. Giuseppe Capretti, Prior of San Lorenzo for this and other information regarding the pulpits and the liturgy followed in the church. That the pulpits were always used in this way is *a priori* likely in view of the well-established "law" governing the survival of liturgical customs associated with especially holy times; cf. A. Baumstark, "Das Gesetz der Erhaltung des Alten in liturgisch

hochwertiger Zeit," *Jahrbuch für Liturgiewissenschaft*, VII, 1927, pp. 1ff., a reference kindly brought to my attention by Dom Anselm Strittmatter.

27. *Missale Romanum*, New York, etc., 1944, pp. 139ff.

28. Jungmann, *op.cit.*, I, p. 412.

29. Cf. Zauner, *op.cit.*, pp. 12ff., 23f., where the development is associated with the preaching activities in Italy of Bernard of Clairvaux and his followers. See also Jungmann, *op.cit.*, I, p. 418.

30. Kauffmann, *op.cit.*, p. 177 n. 601; they are depicted thus in a print by Callot of 1610 (*ibid.*, pl. 34).

The very location of the pulpits also suggests that the revival of earlier visual types is matched, perhaps motivated by a revival of earlier liturgical usage.³¹

It would be misleading to imply by the foregoing that the San Lorenzo pulpits follow an elaborate program, since the rigidly systematic character of "iconographical programs" in the usual sense is wholly absent. But they do seem to embody a meaningfully organized set of ideas. And the meaning is sufficiently coherent to show that Donatello's models were not selected at random, but as they produced associations that are integrally related to the function of the pulpits within the liturgy of the mass.

The commission for the pulpits provided Donatello's first opportunity to exercise his narrative powers in a full-scale account of the Passion.³² In so doing just after the middle of the fifteenth century, he encountered a rather curious situation. Christological cycles that illustrated the Passion and post-Passion events with anything like the detail of the San Lorenzo pulpits had become surprisingly rare.³³ Only two were really comparable in scope, Ghiberti's first pair of doors for the Florentine Baptistery, from the first quarter of the century, and Fra Angelico's series of frescoes in the cloister of San Marco, from the second. Even these were not completely analogous, since they had both depicted the entire life of Christ rather than just the Passion and post-Passion, and at least Ghiberti had omitted a number of scenes that Donatello was to include.

When considering the early fifteenth century background, however, representations of individual subjects, apart from whole cycles, must also be taken into account; this of course appreciably swells the body of pertinent material. No subject appears on the pulpits that had not been represented in Florentine early Renaissance art, several of them quite frequently. Moreover, these earlier representations tended, in the main, to continue fairly well-defined iconographical types, most of them carried over from the later years of the fourteenth century.³⁴ Thus, one may speak with complete justification of "early Renaissance traditions" for illustrating the Passion and post-Passion.

It should not be assumed, therefore, that the paucity of examples was a determining factor in the astonishing originality of Donatello's compositions. Coming when the artist was quite advanced in age, the commission for the pulpits could not but engender a kind of *summa* of his creative experience. He had already undergone a deep change which resulted in the development of his famous "late style." The rational and humanistic qualities of the early Renaissance, to the formulation of which he had himself made such a prodigious contribution, had been overshadowed by an anxious concern with religious expression. A critical evaluation of the traditions at hand was almost inevitable.

LEFT PULPIT

AGONY IN THE GARDEN (Fig. 6)

Florentine representations of this subject in the years preceding the execution of Donatello's

31. Janson (pp. 213f.) notes the contemporary interest in patristic literature (cf. Pastor, *History of the Popes*, St. Louis, Mo., II, 1898, pp. 206f.), and the Early Christian qualities in the architecture of San Lorenzo itself.

R. Krautheimer, *Lorenzo Ghiberti*, Princeton, 1956, pp. 175ff., associates the program of Ghiberti's Gates of Paradise with the neoplatonic movement, in the person of Ambrogio Traversari. In general, see also P. O. Kristeller (*The Classics and Renaissance Thought*, Cambridge, Mass., 1955, pp. 75ff.); *idem*, "Augustine and the Early Renaissance," *Studies in Renaissance Thought and Letters*, Rome, 1956, pp. 355ff., esp. pp. 364f.; E. Wind, "The Revival of Origen," in *Studies in Art and Literature for Belle da Costa Greene*, Princeton, 1954, pp. 412ff.; and A. L. Mayer ("Renaissance, Humanismus und Liturgie," *Jahrbuch für Liturgiewissenschaft*, XIV, 1934, pp. 123ff., esp. pp. 157ff.). An interesting case in point is that of Antonio

Agli (1400-1477), canon of San Lorenzo for a time and associate of Ficino, who, encouraged by Nicolas V, wrote a *Lives of the Saints* with the express purpose of purifying the traditions and returning to the best patristic sources (Pastor, II, *op.cit.*, pp. 206-207; Cianfogni-Moreni, *Memorie storiche . . . di S. Lorenzo*, *Continuazione*, II, Florence, 1817, pp. 131ff.).

32. He may have had some practice if, as seems possible, the Siena doors were to be a Christological cycle (cf. Janson, p. 208).

33. Cf. Kauffmann, *op.cit.*, p. 180.

34. The conclusions reached in the ensuing discussions of the religious iconography of the early Renaissance in Florence are based upon a by no means exhaustive study of preserved monuments. The objective has been merely to understand how Donatello reacted to the major currently prevalent types.

pulpits are remarkably homogeneous from the iconographical point of view. Ghiberti, Fra Angelico and others, adopted *in toto* a Trecento formula in which Christ is represented kneeling at the top of a rocky incline, facing the angel who appears with the chalice; three of the apostles are disposed in languorous positions on the lower slope.³⁵ The upper part of Donatello's relief corresponds to this design rather closely. But below, he introduces an important change—he adds the other eight apostles. The presence of all eleven apostles is, of course, based upon the Gospels (Matt. 26:36-37 and Mark 14:32-33) and had characterized one of the earliest mediaeval traditions for illustrating the episode; numerous examples occur in Tuscany during the fourteenth century (Fig. 7).³⁶ Donatello's inclusion of them acquires significance, however, in view of the fact that they had consistently been omitted by the "progressive" Florentine artists of the first half of the fifteenth century.

No less significant are the uses to which Donatello puts the additional figures. With utter abandon they sit and lean on the frame, overlapping it in a manner that completely negates the concept of the frame as an ideal separation between the real and represented worlds. Reality and illusion become opposite poles of a continuum, rather than two categorically distinct "levels of existence."

CHRIST BEFORE PILATE AND CAIPHAS (Fig. 9)

Similarly daring pictorial devices are to be seen, in even more complex form, in the relief illustrating Christ's hearings before Pilate and Caiphas. In some respects it is the most extraordinary panel on the pulpits, particularly with regard to established precedent. This is evident, for example, from a comparison of the Christ before Pilate scene with Ghiberti's version on the Baptistery doors (Fig. 10). In a fashion still mediaeval Ghiberti depicts the precise moment of Pilate washing his hands; Donatello preferred the more generalized Judgment of Pilate, displaying therein his profound assimilation of classical "judgment" scenes such as the Aurelian relief on the Arch of Constantine (Fig. 11).³⁷ He even adapts the ancient motif of the barbarian chieftain brought by his son before the Emperor to the incident, rare in Italian art, of Pilate's wife pleading with him on Christ's behalf.³⁸ One must consult Mantegna's *Trial of St. James* for an analogously rich classical atmosphere. (See Fig. 1 in article below by Knabenshue.)

Perhaps the most distinctive feature of Donatello's relief, however, is the elaborate architectural setting in which the scenes are placed. It consists of a pair of barrel vaults resting on piers; attached to the faces of the lateral piers are two fluted pilasters that relate ambiguously both to the springings of groin vaults that seem to project over the foreground space, and to the entablature above. Spiral columns are placed before the pilasters, while a third column reflecting with its frieze of putti the Roman spiral reliefs, stands before the central pier. This, like most of Donatello's settings, is notable rather as scenographic fantasy than as functional architecture. It too is based on a classical prototype, although, as might be expected, not on an actual building. Essentially the same combination of details is found on Roman terra-cotta reliefs, such as one now in the Palazzo dei

35. Ghiberti, first doors, and the stained-glass window in Florence Cathedral; Fra Angelico and workshop, three times (San Marco fresco; San Marco, panel from SS. Annunziata; Forlì, Pinacoteca; Fra Angelico's relationship to sculpture, particularly Ghiberti, has been discussed by U. Middeldorf, "L'Angelico e la scultura," *Rinascimento*, VI, 1955, pp. 179-194; Lorenzo Monaco, diptych, Louvre; also Piero della Francesca, Misericordia Altar, Borgo San Sepolcro, and twice by Mantegna (Tours Museum; London, National Gallery). For mediaeval instances, cf. E. Sandberg-Valalà, *La croce dipinta italiana*, Verona, 1929, pp. 420ff.

36. Barna da Siena, fresco, San Gimignano; further examples, Florentine as well as Sienese, in Sandberg-Valalà,

loc.cit. It is characteristic that in the early Quattrocento Giovanni di Paolo should still have preferred this type (P. d'Achiardi, *I quadri primitivi della Pinacoteca Vaticana*, Rome, 1929, p. 16, pl. xciiia).

37. The differences from Ghiberti are the more pointed as he too had been inspired by ancient models (cf. R. Krautheimer, *op.cit.*, p. 340, no. 6).

Parallels for Donatello's Caiphas scene may also be found among classical monuments, e.g., the episodes on the Column of Trajan of the Emperor haranguing the troops (cf. K. Lehmann-Hartleben, *Die Trajanssäule*, Berlin-Leipzig, 1926, pl. 9, scene x).

38. Concerning which, see below, note 113.

Conservatori, Rome (Fig. 12).³⁹ Besides the similarity of scale and proportions, there is a projecting cornice, a frieze, fluted pilasters, spiral columns, and a pair of semicircular arches.⁴⁰

Donatello probably knew a relief of this sort, and adapted it for the framework of his panel, with a multitude of embellishments. The most prominent of these changes are, of course, the coffered barrel vaults that transform the flat, decorative system of the ancient terra cotta into a vast spatial ambience under which the figural compositions are placed.⁴¹ The general organization that results is very like Mantegna's St. Christopher wall at Padua, and bears further witness to the experimental attitude toward space that the painter shared with Donatello. In both cases the frame is included within the represented world, so that figures may stand before it and straddle the boundary to "reality."

But the affinities to Mantegna cease after a point. Whereas Mantegna distributes his figures freely and consistently through the spatial recession, Donatello counterbalances, even contradicts the recession by crowding the figures into an arbitrarily delimited foreground plane. And whereas in Mantegna all is clear and rationally discernible, Donatello introduces strangely agitated figures emerging as from nowhere, or from ill-defined lower depths. Ultimately the differences in expressive purpose transcend the similarities.

CRUCIFIXION (Fig. 13)

In the *Crucifixion* the spatial recession is greatly reduced. The relief as a whole is more two-dimensional, with the figures spread almost uniformly across the surface and perspective indications entirely eliminated. The influence of classical prototypes is still evident, especially in the torsos of the crucified figures, in the details of costume, and in the wailing women at the foot of the cross.⁴² Nevertheless, compared with the severe monumentality of a version such as Fra Angelico's in the chapter room of San Marco (Fig. 14), Donatello's populous composition is compressed, agitated, and distinctly recalls the great fourteenth century tradition of *Crucifixions mit Gedränge* (Fig. 15).

But Donatello's composition is related to the Trecento tradition in another, quite specific way. Its intensely iconic effect owes much to the fact that the arms of the crosses are in the same plane, parallel to the surface. This feature is common in the fourteenth century.⁴³ So far as I know, however, every major Florentine example in the early Quattrocento shows the crosses of the thieves flanking Christ set on an angle.⁴⁴ We can possibly approach still closer the source of Donatello's innovation. Ever since Duccio, the formula with all three crosses flat seems to have found greatest preference in Siena.⁴⁵

39. H. von Rohden and H. Winnefeld, *Architektonische römische Tonreliefs der Kaiserzeit*, Berlin-Stuttgart, 1911, pl. 27. Terra-cotta reliefs of this type were produced en masse, in relatively standard forms. This one, especially well-preserved, was found in Rome in the nineteenth century, but its architectural composition is typical of the group with Nile scenes (*ibid.*, pp. 155ff.).

40. Von Rohden and Winnefeld (*ibid.*, p. 252) point out that the frieze of the terra cotta originally had a figural decoration also (as on a fragment in the Museo Kircheriano, fig. 289), which would make the analogy with Donatello's relief practically complete.

41. The treatment of space in this and other scenes on the pulpits is discussed by J. White, *The Birth and Rebirth of Pictorial Space*, London [1957], pp. 165ff.

42. Concerning the latter, cf. E. Wind and F. Antal, "The Maenad under the Cross," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 1, 1937-1938, pp. 71ff.

43. Besides the panel attributed to Andrea di Bartolo illustrated in Fig. 15: Duccio, *Maestà*; Barna da Siena, fresco, San Gimignano; in sculpture, both the Pistoia and Pisa pulpits

of Giovanni Pisano.

44. Two other times by Fra Angelico in San Marco; the panel ascribed to Castagno, London, National Gallery; also Masolino, Rome, San Clemente (see the comments by van Marle, *Italian Schools . . .*, The Hague, ix, 1927, p. 300); in sculpture, the terra cotta relief from the shop of Ghiberti, London, Victoria and Albert Museum, and the relief by Giuliano Fiorentino in Valencia Cathedral (ca. 1418-1424; L. Goldscheider, *Ghiberti*, London, 1949, figs. 33, 34, p. 149); also Mantegna's panel of the San Zeno Altar in the Louvre, a characteristic parting of the ways with Donatello. The strength of this Florentine tradition is illustrated by the Medici *Crucifixion* in the Bargello, concerning which see below, note 96.

45. See the examples quoted in note 43 above. In Florence during the 14th century, as later, perspectivized crosses were the prevalent type, e.g., Jacopo di Cione, London, National Gallery; Andrea da Firenze, Santa Maria Novella; they were used by Sienese artists as well, e.g.: Andrea Vanni, Washington, D.C., Corcoran Gallery; Taddeo di Bartolo, Montepulciano; Pietro Lorenzetti, Assisi, San Francesco.

LAMENTATION (Fig. 16)

Representations of this subject were rather infrequent in Florence during the first half of the fifteenth century. But comparison of the pulpit relief with the outstanding example, the painting by Fra Angelico and assistants in the Museo di San Marco, furnishes a striking measure of Donatello's departure from the progressive tradition of the early Renaissance. In San Marco a few figures evenly disposed in an extensive space display calm, nobly restrained emotions. Donatello's composition, on the other hand, is crowded, unclear, and the figures express an incredibly wide range of reactions, from ponderous mourning to paroxysmal anguish.

These differences in feeling are accompanied, moreover, by several specific differences in detail that shed light upon the origin of Donatello's formulation. To begin with, Fra Angelico shows only one cross, while Donatello includes all three, consistent with the three crosses of the Crucifixion relief. More important, Fra Angelico extends the scene upward to include the horizontal arm of the cross; in Donatello the crosses are cut off at a much lower point. The latter change is important formally because it eliminates the accessory space and concentrates attention on the figures; it also reveals that Donatello's composition is derived from another tradition than that of Fra Angelico. Whereas Lamentations that included the horizontal arm were abundant throughout the fourteenth century,⁴⁶ instances with just the lower portions of the crosses are correspondingly rare.⁴⁷ Only one real precedent for Donatello's design comes to mind, the panel associated with Ambrogio Lorenzetti in the Siena Pinacoteca (Fig. 17).⁴⁸ Quite apart from the composition, the impassioned spirit of the San Lorenzo relief has far greater affinity to Lorenzetti's version than to Fra Angelico's.

But Donatello enhanced the intrinsic expressiveness of his model by introducing a number of devices entirely his own. Such is the view of the crosses askew and from below, establishing an eccentric tension with the figural composition that remains, on the contrary, parallel to the surface. Such also is the throng of extra figures that crams the narrative and raises its emotional pitch.⁴⁹

ENTOMBMENT (Fig. 18)

Again for the Entombment the first half of the fifteenth century in Florence offered a "classic" formulation, exemplified by Castagno's fresco in Sant' Apollonia (Fig. 19). Like Fra Angelico's *Lamentation*, it continues the tradition most prominent in Tuscany since the *Maestà* of Duccio,⁵⁰ reducing the quantity of figures and otherwise simplifying the design in conformity with the formal values of the new age. It would almost seem that Donatello had done his utmost to create the opposite effect. Not only does he re-introduce the figures that had been removed, but

46. See the numerous examples in the list of Sandberg-Vavalà, *op.cit.*, pp. 460ff. In the 15th century, Giovanni di Paolo, Vatican, Pinacoteca (single cross).

47. Besides the Ambrogio Lorenzetti composition referred to immediately below, a related panel by Bartolo di Fredi, Siena, Pinacoteca, and a polyptych by a follower of Cola di Petruccioli, Trevi, Pinacoteca; examples that include only one of the crosses rather than all three represent another type. In general cf. G. Swarzenski, "Italienische Quellen der deutschen Pietà," *Festschrift Heinrich Wölfflin*, Munich, 1924, pp. 127ff.

48. The traditional attribution of the painting to Ambrogio has recently been rejected in favor of its being a school piece copying a lost composition by the master (G. Coor, "A new link in the reconstruction of an altarpiece by Andrea di Bartolo," *Journal of the Walters Art Gallery*, XIX-XX, 1956-1957, p. 20; G. Rowley, *Ambrogio Lorenzetti*, Princeton, 1958, pp. 41f.). The panel seems to have been cut (cf. C. Brandi, *La Regia Pinacoteca di Siena*, Rome, 1933, p. 131), but of four other works with the same figural composition three have

similar proportions (*ibid.*, figs. 32-34).

49. Most impressive, surely, are the wailing women, based upon ancient sarcophagi. As Janson (pp. 98f.) points out, they are a standard Trecento motif, which Donatello began revitalizing in the St. Peter's Tabernacle. Most intriguing, however, are the nude riders on unsaddled horses introduced in very low relief in the upper part of the composition. They are certainly interpolations, and awkwardnesses in draughtsmanship suggest the hand of an apprentice. Yet, they are surprisingly like the nude horsemen of the frieze of the Parthenon. The juxtaposition is perhaps not quite so farfetched as might at first appear since Ciriaco d'Ancona made drawings of the Parthenon (cf. E. Reisch, "Die Zeichnungen des Cyriacus im Codex Barberini des Giuliano di San Gallo," *Athenische Mitteilungen*, XIV, 1889, pp. 217ff.), and since Donatello was personally acquainted with him (Janson, *op.cit.*, p. 125).

50. For the type cf. Sandberg-Vavalà, *op.cit.*, pp. 297ff.; examples, pp. 456ff.

he adds many that even the Trecento convention did not require.⁵¹ Two of them, however, do suggest a precedent: the women seated on the ground before the sarcophagus, in various attitudes of despair. They are quite rare in earlier Entombments, a fact that lends significance to the presence of comparable figures in a panel by Simone Martini in Berlin (Fig. 20).⁵² Simone himself, moreover, had departed from Duccio's example in augmenting the number and expressive intensity of the participants. More than any specific detail, this attitude toward the problems of dramatic representation assigns to Simone's composition, in contrast to Castagno's, and important place in the spiritual ancestry of the pulpit relief.

RIGHT PULPIT

MARYS AT THE TOMB (Fig. 21)

As with the Pilate and Caiphas panel on the left pulpit, particular interest attaches to the framework in which this scene is set. The figures as well as the tomb, which has the form of a classical strigilated sarcophagus, are placed within a low rectangular structure supported by square columns. The sleeping guards appear at the right, while two angels excitedly receive the Holy Women who enter by descending a flight of stairs at the left.⁵³

The building alludes to the architectural setting of the Holy Sepulcher at Jerusalem, which had been included in representations of the subject since the early Middle Ages.⁵⁴ This motif, characteristically Eastern, was soon adopted in Italy, where it became almost universal through the twelfth century and into the thirteenth. Most often the figures were represented outside the sepulcher, and the architecture was restricted to a small, tabernacle-like edifice containing the actual sarcophagus.⁵⁵ But in certain instances the figures were brought into a closer connection with the building, which might also be enlarged to the extent of encompassing them along with the sarcophagus (Fig. 23).⁵⁶ While the relationship between figures and architecture usually remained more or less ambiguous, there are cases in which the artist has made it clear that the figures are to be thought of as being inside the building.⁵⁷

In the North this "architectural type" was used into the fifteenth century (Fig. 22),⁵⁸ but generally it had already been replaced by one in which the structure was omitted, the scene being laid in an open landscape.⁵⁹ And in Italy by the fourteenth century the latter formula, having been adopted by Duccio and Giotto, assumed overwhelming predominance.⁶⁰ It continued to prevail during the first half of the fifteenth century in Florence.⁶¹

It seems clear that Donatello returned to an early type, perhaps Italian of the thirteenth

51. Nor were these supplementary figures present in Donatello's own two previous representations of the subject, on the St. Peter's Tabernacle and the altar of San Antonio in Padua.

52. Also the reliquary by Ugolino di Vieri in Orvieto Cathedral where, however, the figures kneel rather than sit (Alinari 25846). Here too, Roman sarcophagi may be the ultimate source (e.g. *Fall of Phaeton*, Uffizi, Florence, Robert, *op.cit.*, III, 3, no. 342, pp. 422ff., known at least since the second half of the 15th century).

An engraving by Mantegna (E. Tietze-Conrat, *Mantegna*, London, 1955, fig. 46) where the ladies also appear before the sarcophagus, though in quite a different form, is further evidence of the relationship between the two artists. Unfortunately, the dates involved are not certain enough to establish a clear priority on either side.

53. Luke (24:4) and John (20:12) speak of two angels.

54. For the development of the iconography see Sandberg-Vavalà, *op.cit.*, pp. 323ff., and the tables, pp. 476ff.

55. E.g., Sant' Angelo in Formis (*ibid.*, fig. 295).

56. Cross 15, Pisa, Museo Civico. The cross from Santa Maria dei Servi, Lucca, Museo Civico, and Cross 20, Pisa,

Museo Civico (*ibid.*, figs. 293, 296, respectively) illustrate the intermediate forms.

57. E.g., Missal D III 15, Mantua, Bibl. Civica (Venturi, *op.cit.*, III, fig. 420); Evangelistary, Padua, Cathedral Treasury, 12th century (*ibid.*, fig. 425).

58. Formerly Arenberg Coll. Ms 76, Breviary, Cologne, first half of the 15th century (cf. *Illuminated Manuscripts from the Bibliothèque of . . . the Dukes d'Arenberg*, New York, Seligmann, 1952, p. 64, ill. p. 66). I am much indebted to Prof. Middeldorf for this example.

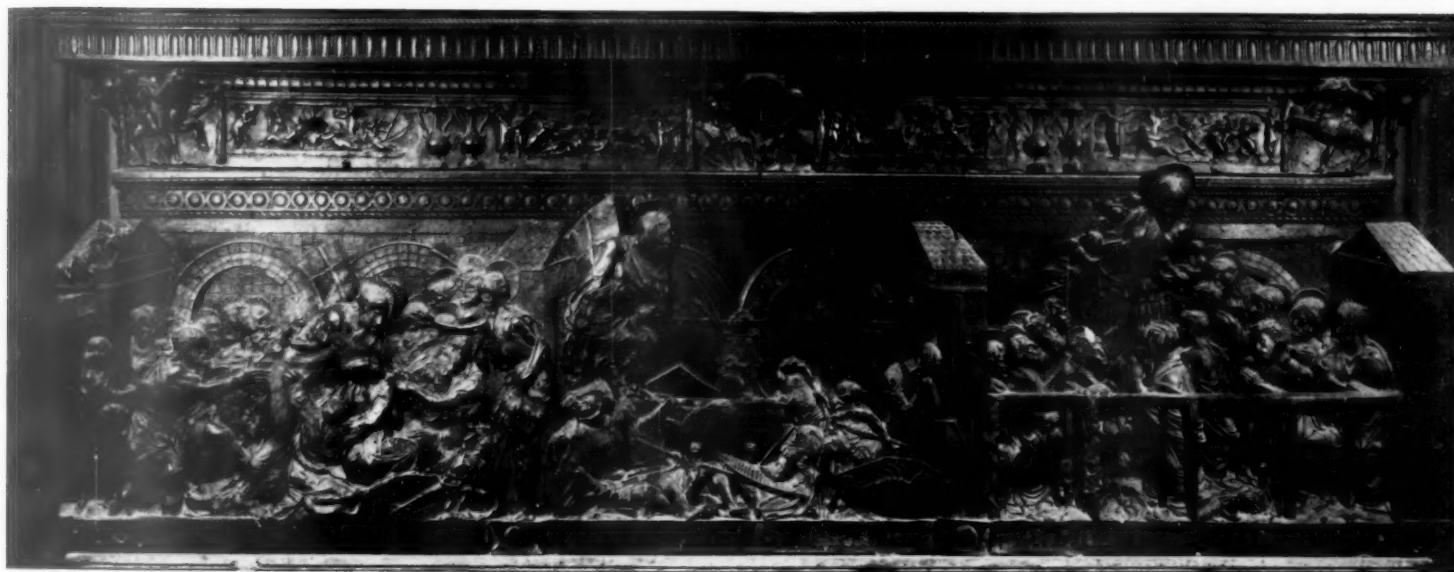
59. Cf. Sandberg-Vavalà, *op.cit.*, p. 333.

60. See the many examples listed by Sandberg-Vavalà, *ibid.*, pp. 480ff.

61. Cf. the right-hand panel of Lorenzo Monaco's diptych in the Louvre (O. Sirén, *Don Lorenzo Monaco*, Strasbourg, 1905, pl. XX), and his pinnacle of Fra Angelico's *Deposition* in the Florence Academy (*ibid.*, pl. XXXVIII); niello engraving by Finiguerra (1452-1455, combined with the Resurrection, J. G. Phillips, *Early Florentine Engravers and Designers*, Cambridge, Mass., 1955, pl. 7A); also Piero della Francesca's *Misericordia Altar*, Borgo San Sepolcro.



1. Donatello, Left Pulpit. Florence, San Lorenzo (photo: Brogi)



2. Donatello, Right Pulpit. Florence, San Lorenzo (photo: Brogi)



3. Pulpit. Florence, San Leonardo in Arcetri (photo: Alinari)



4. Guglielmo d'Agnello, Pulpit. Pistoia, San Giovanni Fuoricivitas (photo: Alinari)



5. Roman Sarcophagus, *Hunt of Meleager*. Rome, Palazzo dei Conservatori



6. Donatello, *Agony in the Garden*, Left Pulpit. Florence, San Lorenzo
(photo: Brogi)



7. Barna da Siena, *Agony in the Garden*. San Gimignano, Collegiata
(photo: Brogi)



8. Tino di Camaino, Tomb of Gastone della Torre, detail
Florence, Santa Croce (photo: Brogi)



9. Donatello, *Christ before Pilate and Caiaphas*, Left Pulpit
Florence, San Lorenzo (photo: Alinari)



10. Ghiberti, *Christ before Pilate*, North Doors
Florence, Baptistery (photo: Brogi)



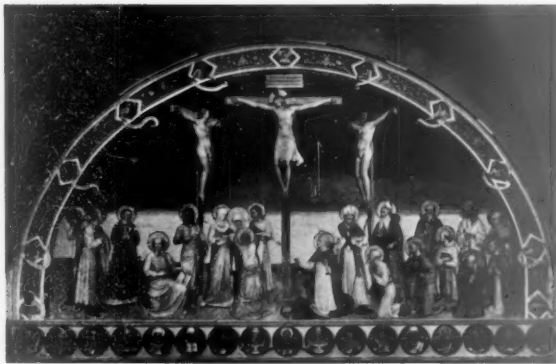
11. *Clementia Augusti*. Rome, Arch
of Constantine
(photo: Anderson)



12. Nile Scene, terra-cotta relief
Rome, Palazzo dei Conservatori



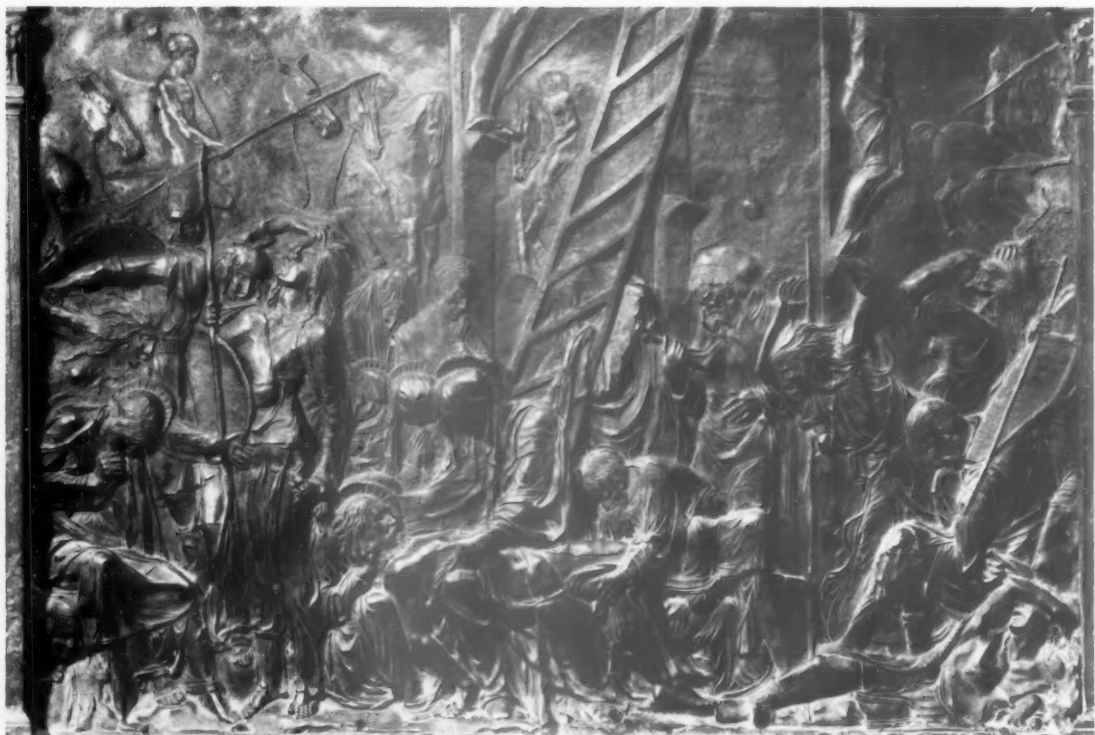
13. Donatello, *Crucifixion*, Left Pulpit. Florence, San Lorenzo (photo: Brogi)



14. Fra Angelico, *Crucifixion*. Florence, San Marco (photo: Alinari)



15. Attributed to Andrea di Bartolo, *Crucifixion*. New York Metropolitan Museum of Art



16. Donatello, *Lamentation*, Left Pulpit. Florence, San Lorenzo (photo: Brogi)



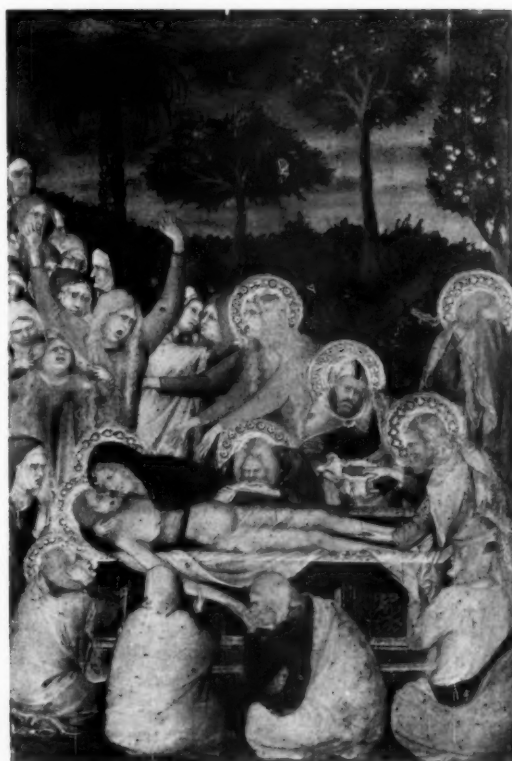
17. School of Ambrogio Lorenzetti, *Lamentation*. Siena, Pinacoteca (photo: Alinari)



18. Donatello, *Entombment*, Left Pulpit. Florence, San Lorenzo (photo: Brogi)



19. Castagno, *Entombment*. Florence, Sant'Apollonia (photo: Soprintendenza)



20. Simone Martini, *Entombment*. Berlin, Kaiser Friedrich Museum



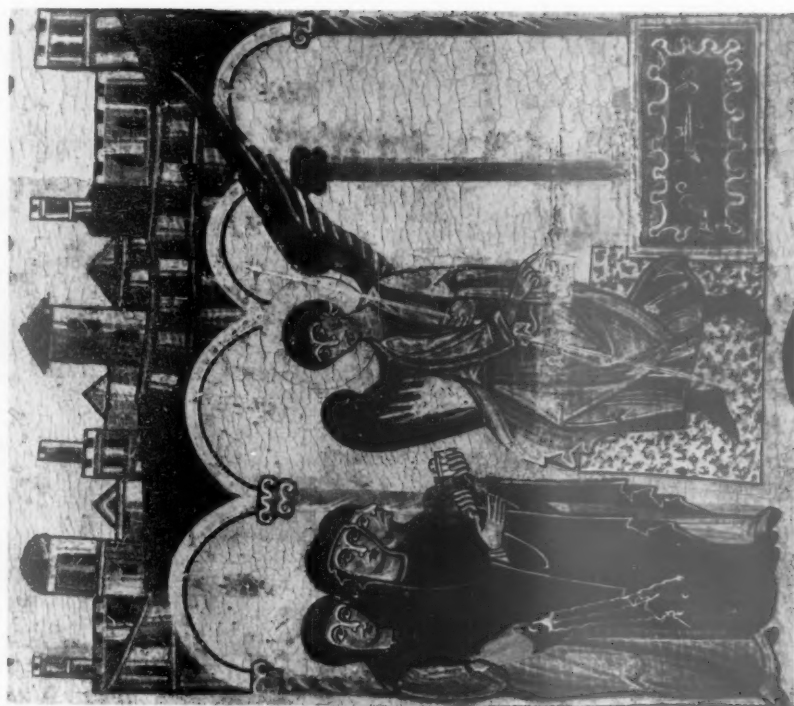
21. Donatello, *Marys at the Tomb*, Right Pulpit, Florence, San Lorenzo (photo: Alinari)



22. *Marys at the Tomb*, Breviary, formerly Arenberg Coll. Ms 76 (Courtesy J. Seligmann and Company)



24. Donatello, *Descent into Limbo*, Right Pulpit, Florence, San Lorenzo (photo: Alinari)



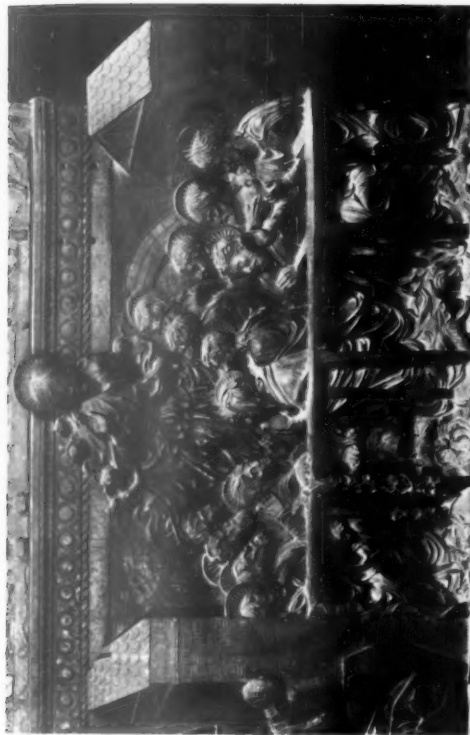
23. *Marys at the Tomb*, Cross 15, Pisa, Museo Civico (photo: Brogi)



25. Andrea da Firenze, *Descent into Limbo*, Florence, Santa Maria Novella (photo: Anderson)



26. Donatello, *Resurrection*, Right Pulpit. Florence, San Lorenzo (photo: Brogi)



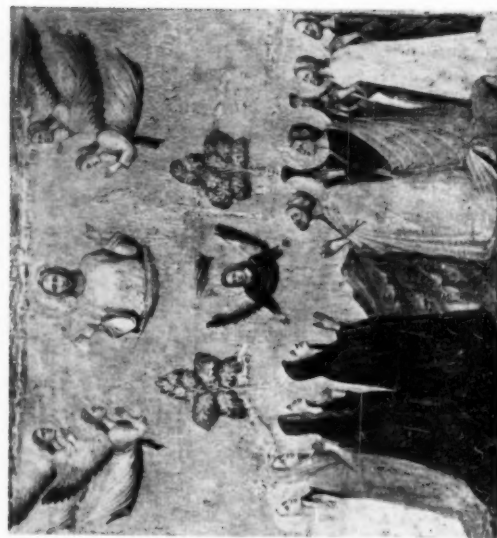
27. Donatello, *Ascension*, Right Pulpit. Florence, San Lorenzo (photo: Brogi)



28. Donatello, *Pentecost*, Right Pulpit. Florence, San Lorenzo (photo: Brogi)



29. Andrea d'Ognabene, *Ascension*, Silver altar frontal Pistoia, Cathedral (photo: Alinari)



30. Riminese School, *Ascension*, XIV cent. Rome, Palazzo Venezia (photo: Alinari)



31. Meleager Sarcophagus, detail. Codex Coburgensis



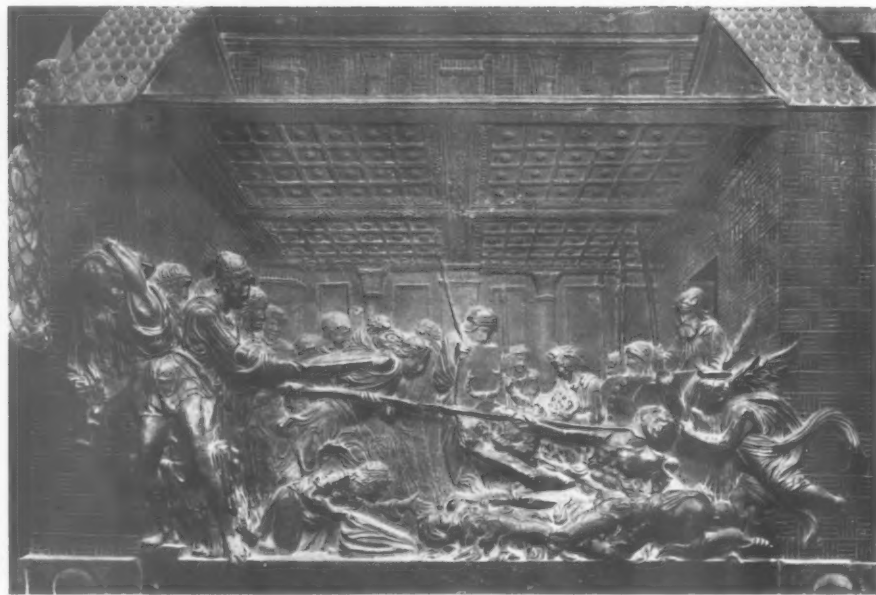
32. Jacopo di Cione, *Pentecost*
London, National Gallery



33. Bicci di Lorenzo, *Pentecost*. Bibbiena
Casentino (photo: Soprintendenza)



34. Column of Marcus Aurelius,
Detail of Scene XL. Rome



35. Donatello, *Martyrdom of St. Lawrence*, Right Pulpit. Florence, San Lorenzo
(photo: Brogi)



36. Bernardo Daddi, *Martyrdom of St. Lawrence*
Florence, Santa Croce (photo: Alinari)



37. Donatello, *Christ before Pilate*, detail, Left Pulpit
Florence, San Lorenzo (photo: Brogi)

century,⁶² perhaps later and of northern Gothic inspiration. Yet I am aware of no true parallel for the fanciful Renaissance crypt Donatello has contrived. Actually projecting from the background, it constitutes, technically as well as spatially, one of his most audacious creations.

DESCENT INTO LIMBO (Fig. 24)

In general, the Tuscan artists of the fourteenth century adhered to a single scheme for the Descent into Limbo, a typical instance being Andrea da Firenze's fresco in the Spanish Chapel of Santa Maria Novella (Fig. 25). The composition is strictly lateral, with Christ entering from one side as souls anticipating redemption rush toward him from the other.⁶³ In the early fifteenth century also, this formula was preferred by Fra Angelico and other artists of Florentine persuasion.⁶⁴

Donatello's version, on the contrary, while it retains the lateral movement, is basically symmetrical. Christ is in the center, flanked on both sides by crowds of figures with outstretched arms. A specific model for the design, if one ever existed, remains to be discovered. But there can be little question as to its ultimate origin. The symmetrical, or "centralized" arrangement is a fundamental characteristic of the Byzantine *Anastasis*, in which Christ is flanked on one side by Adam and Eve and a group of prophets, on the other by St. John with a group of Old Testament kings.⁶⁵

Approximations of this form occur in Italy frequently in the thirteenth century (e.g. Fig. 4, right panel, lower register); less often in the fourteenth.⁶⁶ But the possibility that in this case Donatello might actually have been inspired by a Byzantine source is suggested by the grim figure of St. John, who occupies a conspicuous position at the right of the panel. He is a further development of Donatello's "late Baptist type," represented especially by the bronze figure in the Duomo of Siena. It has recently been observed that the creation of this extraordinary type owed far more to Byzantine than to Italian precedents.⁶⁷

RESURRECTION (Fig. 26)

In the second quarter of the fourteenth century there had been introduced into Tuscany, perhaps from the North, a scheme for the Resurrection in which Christ was represented standing inside the sarcophagus with one foot placed on its rim (cf. Fig. 8, center panel).⁶⁸ This scheme prevailed in Tuscany for fifty years or more,⁶⁹ until in the third quarter of the Trecento it was replaced by a new type showing Christ raised above the sarcophagus in the moment of levitation.⁷⁰

During the early fifteenth century in Florence, the Resurrection seems to have enjoyed considerable popularity. Examples are preserved by a large proportion of the major Florentine artists

62. This may also be true of the strigilated sarcophagus (the only instance of its use on the pulpits); this form had appeared in many of the early examples (Sandberg-Vavalà, *op.cit.*, figs. 292-295), but seems to have gone out of favor during the 13th century along with the architectural setting.

63. *Ibid.*, pp. 309ff., considers this the Italian "national" type, and cites a host of examples, pp. 472ff.

64. Twice by Fra Angelico in San Marco, a fresco and one of the panels from SS. Annunziata; relief by Giuliano Fiorentino in the Cathedral of Valencia (A. Schmarsow, "Juliano Fiorentino ein Mitarbeiter Ghibertis in Valencia," *Abhandlungen der königlich sächsischen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften, Philologisch-historische Klasse*, vol. 29, no. 3, 1911, pl. 11); relief on the Tomb of Beato Pacifico, Venice, Frari, by a Florentine sculptor (1432-1437, J. Pope-Hennessy, *Italian Gothic Sculpture*, London, 1955, pp. 55, 218, fig. 45).

65. See Sandberg-Vavalà, *op.cit.*, pp. 309ff., 468ff. In a number of cases, all prior to the 14th century, the two groups of figures have become real crowds, as in Donatello's relief, e.g., the mosaic at Monreale (O. Demus, *Mosaics of Norman Sicily*, London, 1949, p. 288, pl. 71b) and nos. 32, 33, 39, 50, in Sandberg-Vavalà's table (*loc.cit.*).

66. Notably a group of 14th century Riminese panels (*ibid.*,

p. 472, nos. 60-4). A compromise solution, where Christ is placed centrally but the figures are not balanced, appears in Siena in the early 15th century in two frescoes by Vecchietta (Baptistry, 1450-1453, Ospedale della Scala, 1446-1449; cf. G. Vigni, *Lorenzo di Pietro, detto il Vecchietta*, Florence, 1937, pls. VIII, XII).

A *propos* of Donatello's composition, compare once again an engraving by Mantegna (Tietze-Conrat, *op.cit.*, fig. 48; also fig. 26).

67. Janson, p. 189.

68. For an account of the iconography of the Resurrection during the 14th century in Tuscany, see M. Meiss, *Painting in Florence and Siena after the Black Death*, Princeton, 1951, pp. 38ff.; for the Resurrection in general, H. Schrader, *Ikongraphie der christlichen Kunst*, I, *Die Auferstehung Christi*, Berlin-Leipzig, 1932.

69. See Meiss, *op.cit.*, p. 39; of the examples quoted in his note 107 and in Schrader, *op.cit.*, pp. 133-149, the great majority are Sienese.

70. Examples in Meiss, *op.cit.*, p. 39 n. 109. According to Meiss, the turning point was probably the Resurrection by Andrea da Firenze in the Spanish Chapel at Santa Maria Novella (ca. 1366).

of the period, including Ghiberti, Castagno, and Luca della Robbia. And these representations, despite variations in detail, are regularly of the "levitated" type, which had been carried over from the end of the preceding century.⁷¹ This typological unity makes it apparent that Donatello rejected the tradition most familiar since his youth. He returned Christ to the ground, and thus gave preference to an arrangement that was, in the middle of the fifteenth century, decidedly archaic.⁷²

Donatello's panel is unorthodox in yet another way. Christ is depicted in strict profile, standing at the left end of the sarcophagus—a treatment of the Risen Savior that is apparently unique.⁷³ It seems to have had its origin in Roman sarcophagi illustrating the death of Meleager (Fig. 31).⁷⁴ They include the profile figure of an old man leaning on a staff, who faces to the right with one leg raised on Meleager's bier, in a position virtually identical with Donatello's Christ. The same group of sarcophagi has often been cited in connection with the wailing, hair-tearing women in Donatello's Lamentation scenes.⁷⁵ But here, superimposed upon the early Trecento "grounded" formula for the Resurrection, it bears witness to the unexampled variety of sources which Donatello assimilated in creating the pulpits.

ASCENSION (Fig. 27)

Among fourteenth century Italian representations of the Ascension, three main types may be defined.⁷⁶ By far the most popular, especially in Florence, depicted Christ rising far above the heads of the apostles and the Virgin, who gather kneeling on the ground below.⁷⁷ The second type, much less frequent than the first, showed just the feet of Christ, the rest of his person having disappeared into the heavens.⁷⁸ The third type, also relatively rare, was the anatomical opposite of the second, and represented only the upper part of Christ's body, usually borne aloft on a cloud (Fig. 30).⁷⁹

Donatello was clearly influenced by the third of these traditions; he lowered the figure of Christ and obscured the greater part of his legs, so that slightly more than half the body appears above the heads of the apostles; and the cloud is transformed into an arc of angels. The choice is remarkable considering the fate that awaited the major schemes during the early Quattrocento

71. Examples in Meiss, *ibid.*, p. 40 n. 115; other Florentine instances preceding the San Lorenzo pulpits are: Lorenzo Monaco's pinnacle of Fra Angelico's *Deposition*, Florence, Academy (Sirén, *op.cit.*, pl. xxxviii); the stained-glass window designed by Uccello for Florence Cathedral (J. Pope-Hennessy, *The Complete Work of Paolo Uccello*, London, 1950, pl. 26). A kind of intermediate type in which Christ is definitely suspended but lower, his feet level with the top of the sarcophagus, appears in Castagno's fresco in Sant' Apollonia, Florence; represented also in sculpture by Nanni di Bartolo, Brenzoni Monument, Verona, S. Fermo Maggiore (Pope-Hennessy, *Italian Gothic Sculpture*, p. 217, fig. 44), Giuliano Fiorentino, Cathedral of Valencia (Schmarsow, *op.cit.*, pl. 1); this type, of which there are several variants, also occurs earlier, cf. Meiss, *op.cit.*, pp. 38f. nn. 102, 105.

72. Considering the predominance of the grounded, foot-on-the-rim version in Siena during the early 14th century (note 69 above), it seems likely that Donatello's inspiration was in this case specifically Siennese. Examples occur elsewhere, however, including Florence, and Meiss (*ibid.*, p. 40 n. 113) notes a revival of the type in Florence toward the end of the century by Agnolo Gaddi (altarpiece, San Miniato). Furthermore, an interesting question of precedence arises with respect to Mantegna's *Resurrection* from the San Zeno Altar, now in the museum of Tours (finished 1459), and that of Piero della Francesca in Borgo San Sepolcro (dated 1462-1464 by Kenneth Clark, *Piero della Francesca*, London, 1951, pp. 40,

207); in both these works, Christ is also "grounded."

73. Schrader (*op.cit.*, pp. 236f.) is also aware of no other examples, even after the pulpits. For a discussion of the formal reasons (preservation of the surface, lateral orientation of the composition) that may have prompted Donatello's adoption of the profile stance, see Kauffmann, *op.cit.*, p. 181.

74. Drawing in the Codex Coburgensis (1550-1554) of a Meleager Sarcophagus now in the Villa Albani (Robert, *op.cit.*, III, 2, no. 278, pp. 338ff.).

75. Janson, p. 187.

76. Sandberg-Vavalà, *op.cit.*, pp. 171ff. 398ff.

77. Jacopo di Cione, London, National Gallery; numerous examples in *ibid.* Perhaps the earliest (e.g. Rabula Gospels) and most common form shows Christ *en face*; in the Arena Chapel Giotto, adopting another tradition, represents him in profile with a diagonal movement, and this variant achieved a certain currency thereafter (*ibid.*, pp. 183ff., 400ff.). In the course of the 14th century, however, Christ was returned to full-front, and this was the form that prevailed in Florentine examples.

78. Examples in Sandberg-Vavalà, *ibid.*, pp. 406f.

79. Riminese, 14th century, Rome, Palazzo Venezia (*ibid.*, fig. 142, pp. 404f.), citing further instances, Florentine as well as Siennese. Yet another tradition (*ibid.*, pp. 398ff.) has Christ seated in a mandorla, e.g., Fra Guglielmo's Pistoia pulpit; in the 15th century, Verrocchio's Forteguerri Monument, also in Pistoia (see below, note 96).

in Florence. While the first retains its predominance,⁸⁰ and the second occurs sporadically,⁸¹ the type that Donatello reflected seems to have disappeared entirely.

Certainly the most remarkable feature of the composition, however, is that Christ is still on the ground, his feet in contact with a rise in the landscape between the apostles. The emendation is analogous to Donatello's preference for the "grounded" over the "levitated" type in the Resurrection; besides saving space, it serves to rationalize the event, in contrast to the "unnatural" rendering of the miracle in the earlier versions. But the idea for a grounded Ascension must have come from some even more recondite source, for I have encountered only one Italian monument on which it occurs, the early Trecento silver altar frontal by Andrea d'Ognabene in the Cathedral of Pistoia (Fig. 29).⁸² By combining this extraordinary variant with the third formula for the Ascension—itself *demodé* for more than half a century—Donatello achieved the startling effect in which Christ, though earth-bound in compliance with natural law, seems to emerge from the group with supernatural force.⁸³

PENTECOST (Fig. 28)

For the Pentecost the Tuscan Trecento offered two possibilities. On the one hand, following the examples of Giotto and Duccio, the scene could be represented as taking place in an architectural setting, with the Virgin and apostles seated, often in a balcony, and the Holy Ghost appearing above (Fig. 32).⁸⁴ But there was also a tradition wherein the figures kneel in a circle or semicircle without any indication of environment (Fig. 33).⁸⁵ Of these two, the Florentine masters of the first half of the fifteenth century definitely preferred the architectural type.⁸⁶ And once more it is clear that Donatello rejected the taste of his early Renaissance predecessors, returning to the second arrangement, which had meanwhile fallen into disuse.

At the same time, he introduces to the subject an altogether new content. The symbolism associated with the event had hitherto fostered schematization and abstraction; now it becomes a vehicle for the expression of personal emotion. The conventionally pious gestures of the figures are transformed into compelling imprecations, which echo the dramatic vocabulary of classical antiquity (Fig. 34).⁸⁷

MARTYRDOM OF ST. LAWRENCE (Fig. 35)

The *Martyrdom of St. Lawrence* is no less extraordinary than the other panels on the pulpits, though in a very different way. It is the one scene in which Donatello seems to have been content to follow the tradition nearest at hand. The action is distributed laterally, parallel to the picture plane, and is located in a spacious architectural setting that represents the *Thermae*

80. Luca della Robbia, Florence, Cathedral; Ghiberti, stained-glass window, Florence, Cathedral (Goldscheider, *op.cit.*, pl. 132); Giuliano Fiorentino, relief, Valencia, Cathedral (Schmarsow, *op.cit.*, pl. 2); Fra Angelico, triptych, Rome, Corsini; also Mantegna, Triptych, Uffizi.

81. Fra Angelico, panel from SS. Annunziata, Florence, San Marco.

82. Signed and dated 1316, cf. Sandberg-Vavalà, *op.cit.*, fig. 141, p. 178, and p. 187; it occurs occasionally in the North (e.g., an early 14th century miniature of Cologne in the Wallraf-Richartz Museum, cf. P. Clemen, *Die gotischen Monumentalmalereien der Rheinlande*, Düsseldorf, 1930, text vol., fig. 17, p. 15).

83. Because of this effect, and since the Ascension seems more appropriate as the major event between the Resurrection and Pentecost, I have retained the traditional identification; the relief has recently been interpreted as Christ appearing to the Apostles (Pope-Hennessy, *Italian Renaissance Sculpture*,

p. 288).

84. Jacopo di Cione, London, National Gallery; additional examples in Sandberg-Vavalà, *op.cit.*, pp. 378ff., 492ff.

85. Bicci di Lorenzo, quatrefoil of a polyptych, Bibbiena Casentino, and further examples in *ibid.*; see Meiss, *op.cit.*, pp. 32ff., for the triptych in the Florence Badia by a follower of Orcagna, in which this type is used as the subject of an altarpiece.

86. Ghiberti, first doors (again preserving the continuity of tradition from the 14th century, see Meiss, *ibid.*, p. 33 n. 81); Giuliano Fiorentino, relief, Valencia Cathedral (Schmarsow, *op.cit.*, pl. 5); Fra Angelico, triptych, Rome, Corsini, and a panel from SS. Annunziata in San Marco.

87. Column of Marcus Aurelius, scene XL (M. Wegner, "Die Kunstgeschichtliche Stellung der Markussäule," *JdI*, XLVI, 1931, fig. 37, p. 141), a typical example of Donatello's inclination toward the more expressive phases of ancient art.

Olympiades, traditionally designated as the site of the atrocity. The scheme does not depart materially from that established in Tuscany for the last century and more (Fig. 36).⁸⁸

We can only guess at what lay behind Donatello's conventionalism in this particular instance. It is perhaps relevant that, in contrast to the Passion scenes, the preceding age had not developed a number of different types for representing the Martyrdom of St. Lawrence. There was, so to speak, no iconographical alternative. But it may also be observed that the very "ordinariness" of the Martyrdom sets it apart from the other scenes, and is hence appropriate to its unique status as the only non-Christological subject on the pulpits.

As always, Donatello has embroidered the tradition by adding many figures, whose presence is often enigmatic,⁸⁹ and by adjusting the spatial organization in accordance with the formal principles of his late style. Instead of the usual view from above he lowers the vanishing point so that the eye is level with the floor. As a result, the coffered ceiling creates a dramatic recession, which is counteracted by the compressed mass of figures below, whose relationships to one another and to the room as a whole remain persistently obscure.

Consideration of the individual scenes has given evidence of an attitude toward the past analogous to that which determined the pulpits' over-all form. In almost every case, a coherent tradition had been established in Florence by the middle of the fifteenth century, and in almost every case Donatello rejected that tradition.

The force of the rejection and its bearing upon Donatello's earlier career, are poignantly illustrated by the change in his relationship to Ghiberti. The influence of Ghiberti, particularly the first doors, appears in a considerable number of Donatello's early and mature works, ranging in date from the Santa Croce *Crucifix* (ca. 1412) and the *St. George* (ca. 1417) to the decorations in the sacristy of San Lorenzo (1434-1443).⁹⁰ Thereafter the affinities diminish until in the pulpits, wherever a comparison with Ghiberti suggests itself (*Mount of Olives*, *Christ before Pilate*, *Crucifixion*, *Resurrection*, *Pentecost*), Donatello conspicuously disregarded his example in favor of models culled from a more or less remote past.

The pulpits, however, are by no means the first occasion on which Donatello returned to earlier types, even such as are associated particularly with the Trecento. The Pazzi *Madonna* (ca. 1422), the Shaw *Madonna* (ca. 1425-1428), the London *Ascension and Delivery of the Keys* (1428-1430), to cite only the more prominent instances, have all been referred to "late Gothic" formulae of the preceding century.⁹¹ But the revival taking place in the pulpits is of an entirely different sort. In the earlier cases, the prototypes had functioned mainly as passive receptacles to be "re-classicized," as it has aptly been phrased, into Donatello's personal version of the early Renaissance formal idiom.⁹² In the pulpits, on the contrary, the intrinsic "mediaeval" qualities of the model are retained, indeed emphasized, so that it becomes a fresh religious experience.⁹³

The process is peculiar to Donatello's late style, and it had begun to operate immediately as the late style itself made its appearance. From the period of the Frari *St. John* (ca. 1452-1453) mediae-

88. Bernardo Daddi, Pucci Chapel, Florence, Santa Croce; other 14th century examples are a panel by the school of Lorenzo Monaco in the Vatican, and one attributed to the Maestro del Bambino Vispo, Rome, Palazzo Colonna; cf. A. Colasanti, "Quadri fiorentini inediti," *Bollettino d'Arte*, xxvii, 1933-1934, pp. 337ff.

In the 15th century: Fra Angelico, Chapel of Nicolas V, Vatican, and the fresco often attributed to Masolino at Castiglione Olona (M. Salmi, "Gli affreschi nella Collegiata di Castiglione Olona," *Dedalo*, ix, 1928-1929, fig. p. 10).

89. For example, a second figure appears on the pyre (cf. Janson, p. 217).

90. Cf. Janson, pp. 11, 29, 135 and *passim*.

91. Kauffmann, *op.cit.*, pp. 67, 69ff.; Janson, pp. 45, 87, 93.

92. *Ibid.*, p. 72.

93. Ghiberti also, as Krautheimer observes (*op.cit.*, pp. 214ff.), showed a strong tendency in the second doors, to reject current Florentine tradition for models of the early Trecento, particularly Sienese (see the next note). However, his interest in these works was largely determined by the elements from antiquity they contained ("crypto-antique" formulae, cf. *ibid.*, pp. 286, and 225). The contrast is highly instructive between Ghiberti adopting such models early in the century when moving toward a "classical" style and Donatello doing so after 1450 when moving away from one.

val types, revived in a truly anticlassical spirit, are much in evidence.⁹⁴ It might be said, therefore, that the pulpits simply carry forward to a climax tendencies that had already developed in the 1450's. Even so, the number of different prototypes and the variety of periods from which they stem are without real precedent. They bespeak a conscious effort to cast every major feature of the pulpits into a mold noteworthy for its obsolescence. The revival has acquired a deliberate, consistent aspect that was missing earlier. It has almost the quality of a creed, an artistic and spiritual manifesto; but it is typical of Donatello in being fundamentally intuitive and un-doctrinaire.

In this larger sense, the pulpits find their place in a distinctly conservative trend which runs through the fifteenth century, never wholly disappearing, and emerging occasionally, like a recessive gene, to predominance in the evolution of early Renaissance art.⁹⁵ Even within this context, however, the pulpits must have seemed anomalous to Donatello's contemporaries, since they remain, on the whole, rather isolated. Surprisingly few of Donatello's revivalistic innovations were taken up in the second half of the fifteenth century;⁹⁶ to be fully comprehended they were to await the kindred spirit of the "anti-classical" reaction to the High Renaissance.⁹⁷

Nevertheless, the pulpits are not simply "mediaevalizing." On the contrary, they are remarkably modern, if only because the elements of mediaeval revival are saturated with a rich repertory of motifs from classical antiquity. Hence, they presuppose that historical perspective that distinguishes the Renaissance of the fifteenth century from earlier periods of renewed classicism. But now the perspective takes on a wider and deeper meaning. Along with the antique prototypes are others from Early Christian, Byzantine, Romanesque, and Trecento sources—sources that have one striking feature in common, they all represent traditions that were long since dead. The artist has achieved a new level of self-consciousness, whence he is free to choose from whatever material might serve his expressive ends. The very diversity of precedents upon which the pulpits depend involves an extension of the artistic horizon that places them at the forefront of their period.

DUPLICATAS ANIMAE

It may not be surprising that a master of the early Renaissance should exercise unprecedented breadth of vision in relation to the past. What is extraordinary, however, is for an artist to articulate the decidedly ambiguous position of the age, and its newly won freedom of choice, in the form of an image.

The scene of Christ before Pilate contains one of the oddest figures in all Quattrocento sculpture, a little man with two faces who carries the basin in which Pilate will wash his hands (Fig. 37). More often than not he is overlooked in the Donatello literature, while one of the more recent

94. Analysis of the pulpits has tended to confirm the importance for this development often attached to the Gothic art of Siena, especially Siennese painting, with which Donatello was in close contact during his last years (above, notes 45, 69, 72).

95. F. Antal, "Studien zur Gotik im Quattrocento," *Jbh. d. preuss. Kunstsamm.*, XLVI, 1925, pp. 3ff.; *idem*, "Gedanken zur Entwicklung der Trecento-und Quattrocento malerei in Siena und Florenz," *Jbh. für Kunstwissenschaft*, II, 1924-1925, pp. 207ff. Cf. G. Weise, "Donatello und das Problem der Spätgotik," *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte*, XVII, 1954, pp. 79ff.

96. Subsequent Florentine pulpits, e.g., that of Antonio Rossellino and Mino da Fiesole in Prato Cathedral 1473, and Benedetto da Majano's in Santa Croce ca. 1475, are single and centralized in plan; also the pulpit in the Ognissanti, Florence, by a follower of Benedetto da Rovezzano (Brogi photo 4683), and the Bencivenni pulpits in the Duomo of Arezzo (Alinari photos 9682, 9699).

The same is true of individual scenes. The *Resurrection* on

the right pulpit is unique; the terra cotta relief of this subject in the Bargello attributed to Verrocchio (L. Planiscig, *Andrea del Verrocchio*, Vienna, 1941, pl. I, ca. 1465, considered later by Pope-Hennessy, *Italian Renaissance Sculpture*, p. 311, who also notes the lack of immediate impact of the pulpits, pp. 24f.) even retains the levitated type, as does Vecchietta's relief in the Frick Collection, 1472. Verrocchio's *Ascension* on the Forteguerri Monument, Pistoia, 1476-1489, shows Christ seated in a mandorla. An instructive case is the Medici *Crucifixion* in the Bargello, often attributed to Donatello but shown by Janson (pp. 242ff.) to be a kind of pastiche of the 1460's or 1470's; while imitating Donatello in other respects, the artist reintroduced perspectivized crosses for the thieves; similarly Bertoldo's relief in the Bargello.

97. See I. Lavin, "An Observation on 'Medievalism' in early sixteenth century style," *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, L, September, 1957, pp. 113ff., esp. p. 118 n. 9; the literary appreciation by Bocchi, *Le bellezze . . .*, Florence, 1591, pp. 250ff., is quoted in Janson, pp. 210f.

commentators has expressed his puzzlement with disarming frankness.⁹⁸ Certainly the physiological redundancy cannot be dismissed as a *pentimento*, since a mistake of this kind would hardly go unnoticed through the whole process of bronze casting, and then be chased along with the rest of the work.

In pagan antiquity two faces could be used to express any idea of alternation or opposition. Thus, Boreas, as a wind god, was represented *bifrons*;⁹⁹ likewise Janus, who also started as a wind deity and later became the god of Beginnings and Endings.¹⁰⁰ In the Middle Ages, typically, this antique tradition was subsumed within the Christian ethical system, and the ability to see in opposite directions became itself a virtue, Prudence, which might be represented by a figure with two faces.¹⁰¹ One form in which the pagan type was transmitted intact, i.e. unmoralized, to the Middle Ages was as Janus, the symbol of the first month of the year.¹⁰² And it has recently been shown that a January figure with two faces and carrying a jug, provided the visual inspiration for Pilate's servant in the pulpit relief.¹⁰³

But what can the image mean in the context in which Donatello has used it? In the first place it is clear that the figure must refer to Pilate. The servant, though a very old tradition, is a pure figment of the imagination, having no basis whatever in scripture.¹⁰⁴ Since he was invented expressly to assist in the act of hand-washing, any meaning attached to him would automatically be associated with that act, and hence with Pilate.

What then is the implication for Pilate? This problem can best be approached simply by reflecting on the character of Pilate as he appears in the New Testament. He is the man who was called upon to judge Christ, but made every effort, including referral to Herod, to avoid handing down a verdict. He found no evil in Christ, but never took an unequivocal stand and in the end merely yielded to the impetrations of the accusers. He is the very epitome of doubtful vacillation, by which he is driven even to ask the fatal question, "What is truth?" Yet, this interpretation of Pilate as the example *par excellence* of a man in the anguish of reaching a moral decision, an interpretation which to us seems not only the correct but the natural one, has by no means always been current.¹⁰⁵ Pilate's crucial position as the earthly judge of the Savior early gave rise to disparate opinions of his moral status. Those who wished to mitigate the responsibility of the Jews in Christ's death condemned Pilate as wholly evil.¹⁰⁶ To those who wished the opposite Pilate

98. Kauffmann, *op.cit.*, p. 253 n. 614a. But see below, note 114.

99. W. H. Roscher, *Ausführliches Lexikon der griechischen und römischen Mythologie*, Leipzig, 1884-1937, I, cols. 808f.

100. *Ibid.*, II, cols. 15ff.

101. Sauer, *op.cit.*, pp. 417, 419; cf. Ripa, *Iconologia*, Padua, 1611, p. 441. A curious intrusion of this type into a representation of *Fides* (Ambrogio Lorenzetti, altarpiece at Massa Marittima) is discussed by H. Hibbard, "A Representation of *Fides* by Ambrogio Lorenzetti," *ART BULLETIN*, XXXIX, 1957, pp. 137f. For Prudence with three rather than two faces cf. E. Panofsky, "Titian's *Allegory of Prudence: A Postscript*," *Meaning in the Visual Arts*, New York, 1955, pp. 146ff., esp. pp. 149ff.

102. J. Carson Webster, *The Labors of the Months in Antique and Mediaeval Art*, Princeton, 1938, pp. 62f.; F. Piper, *Mythologie der christlichen Kunst*, Weimar, 1851, II, pp. 383ff. Another unmoralized but unrelated mediaeval form of two-facedness is the exotic monstrosity, as in an English manuscript in the British Museum (Cotton Tiberius B.V., 11th century), which shows, on fol. 81a, a "Locotheon" thus deformed, an example for which I am indebted to the Warburg Institute, London (cf. M. R. James, *Marvels of the East*, Oxford, 1929, p. 17, no. 12 and ill.; further R. Wittkower, "Marvels of the East," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, V, 1942, p. 185 n. 1). Still another type is the *bifrons historié*, e.g., the angels with two heads, one of which

is often labeled with the name of a historic personage, appearing in manuscripts of Alexander's commentary on the Apocalypse, which explains the text in terms of church and world history (M. Huggler, "Der Bilderkreis in den Handschriften der Alexander-Apokalypse," *Antonianum*, IX, 1934, pp. 85-150, 269-308, esp. pp. 287ff., citing further examples). A *bifrons moralisé* occurs in the British Museum Beatus (Add. MS 11695, 11th century fol. 102v) from Santo Domingo de Silos, where the white horseman is followed by a personification of Hell with two faces, and the inscription, *et infernus sequebatur eum* (Apoc. 6:8; ref. Index of Christian Art).

103. See Janson, p. 218, citing the Romanesque January figures at the Pieve of Arezzo and the Duomo of Ferrara.

104. He is not mentioned in Matt. 27:24, the only reference to the hand-washing incident in the Gospels.

105. Surveys of the various Pilate traditions may be found in W. Creizenach, "Legenden und Sagen von Pilatus," *Beiträge zur Geschichte der deutschen Sprache und Literatur*, I, 1874, pp. 89-107; R. von Stoephasius, *Die Gestalt des Pilatus in den mittelalterlichen Passionsspielen*, Diss., Berlin, 1938; A. Williams, *The Characterization of Pilate in the Towneley Plays*, East Lansing, Mich., 1950.

106. Jews of the Early Christian era such as Josephus (1st century A.D.; *Antiquitatum Iudaicarum*, XVIII, iii, 1) and especially Philo (died ca. A.D. 54; *Legatio ad Gaium*, ch. 38) were among the first to adopt this attitude.

became the innocent dupe of the nefarious Jews, essentially good and sympathetic toward Christianity.¹⁰⁷ More or less between are the Gospels themselves, as well as many of the early Church Fathers who blame the Jews without completely exonerating Pilate, and tend to emphasize his ambivalence.¹⁰⁸

Subsequently, the middle ground disappeared. It has been observed that the mediaeval mind was curiously incapable of regarding Pilate as the waverer, the man in doubt pure and simple.¹⁰⁹ Particular morality was the issue of a contest between good and evil forces higher than the individual, so that doubt was automatically resolved into one category or the other. As a result, the opposing views of Pilate became extremes: we find him a saint in the Ethiopian church;¹¹⁰ inspired by the devil in a relief of the eleventh century bronze doors of Hildesheim cathedral.¹¹¹

Clearly there is no such moralization in Donatello's rendition, which is thus closer in spirit to the New Testament and early Fathers than to later mediaeval interpretations of the theme.¹¹² He has given an intensely dramatic but wholly objective description of a critical moment, a moment of choice.¹¹³ This very absence of *parti pris* marks the *bifrons* servant unmistakably as a comment upon the spiritual conflict that is for us the dominant feature of Pilate's predicament.¹¹⁴

107. For example the *Acta Pilati* and other apocrypha with their reports of Pilate's letter to the Emperor and of his conversion to Christianity (M. R. James, *The Apocryphal New Testament*, Oxford, 1955, pp. 94ff.); this attitude appears in certain patristic writings as well (see the sources cited by Williams, *op.cit.*, p. 2).

108. Cf. Augustine (354-430; *Ennaratio in Psalmum LXIII*, Migne, *Patr. lat.*, vol. 36, col. 762):

Quod fecit Pilatus, in eo ipso quod fecit, aliquantum particeps fuit; sed in comparatione illorum multo ipse innocentior.

Also Ambrose (d. 397; *De excidio urbis Hierosol.* II, 12, *ibid.*, vol. 15, col. 2156), John Chrysostomos (d. 407; *Homily LXXXVI* on Matt. 27:11, 12, Migne, *Patr. gr.*, vol. 58, cols. 763ff.) and Leo the Great (d. 461):

Denique nec in accusato eum reperisse culpam, nec in sententia sua tenuisse constantiam, docet ipsa cognitio: in qua iudex, quem innocentem pronuntiat, damnat. . . .

(*Sermo LIX*, ch. 2, Migne, *Patr. lat.*, vol. 54, col. 338)

109. E. Panofsky, *Hercules am Scheidewege* (Studien der Bibliothek Warburg 18), Leipzig, 1930, pp. 155ff.

110. His feast day is June 25; E. A. Wallis Budge, *The Book of the Saints of the Ethiopian Church*, Cambridge, 1928, I, p. xlvi; IV, p. 1034. Cf. also *The Catholic Encyclopedia*, New York, 1912-1914, XII, p. 84.

111. Panofsky, *loc.cit.* See also the Psalter of Henry of Blois, Brit. Mus. Cotton Nero C.IV, 12th century, fol. 21r (O. E. Saunders, *English Illumination*, Florence-Paris, 1928, I, pl. 38), and a French Gothic ivory, Paris, Coll. Granjean (R. Koechlin, *Les ivoires gothiques français*, Paris, 1924, pl. CXXXVIII). The association with the devil was common on a popular level, e.g.,

Pylates dist et Belzébus:

"Raoul, bien soies-tu venuz!"

Songe d'Enfer of Raoul de Houdaing, A. Jubinal, *Mystères inédits du Quinzième Siècle*, Paris, 1837, II, pp. 395f.

Cf. E. Du Méril, *Poésies populaires latines du Moyen Âge*, Paris, 1847, pp. 340ff. Ultimately Pilate became a symbol of unjust power in general, as when Chaucer used the phrase "Pilates voys" in the Miller's prologue (I, 16; R. E. Parker, *Speculum*, xxv, 1950, pp. 237ff.).

112. Compare also Mrs. Jameson's remarkable analysis of Pilate scenes on early Christian sarcophagi (*The History of Our Lord*, 2nd ed., London, 1865, II, pp. 66f.), which could be applied almost *verbatim* to Donatello's panel: "Instead of the mere act of washing the hands, they give us the cause that preceded and led to it. Pilate is obviously troubled in mind. The life of a 'just man' is demanded at his hands, and the end of his perplexity will be to wash those hands in token of his

non-participation in the deed. We therefore see Pilate seated in a position which, however varied, betokens the same mental disquietude. The expression of the whole figure is that of a man sorely troubled what to do. . . ."

113. The inherent dramatic possibilities of an equivocal situation had led to a rather similar attitude in certain passion plays, for example, the *Mystère de la Passion* of Jehan Michel (14th century) in which Pilate says,

Il me fait bien mal

Qu'il fault la chose ainsi passer;

mais pour rien ne vueil offenser

Cesar, ne lui desobéyr;

item se je me fais hayr

A ces seigneurs, ilz trouveront

moyen, qu'ilz me desposeront

En me reprenant d'injustice,

et feront perdre mon office;

Parquoi j'ayme mieux tort ou droit

le juger: car mal m'en vendroit

Quelque jour, je voy bien que c'est.

(Du Méril, *op.cit.*, p. 341)

Donatello's objective dramatization is apparent also from his introduction of the figure of a woman who faces Pilate and extends one arm toward Christ. This is the wife of Pilate who, according to Matthew (27:19), "sent unto him, saying, Have thou nothing to do with that just man; for I have suffered many things this day in a dream because of him." She is seen occasionally in Northern representations at this period (e.g. Salzburg woodcut, 1440-1450, G. Gugenbauer, *Inkunabeln der Graphik in den Klosterbibliotheken Ober-Oesterreichs und Salzburgs* [Einblattdrucke des fünfzehnten Jahrhunderts, vol. 34], Strasbourg, 1913, no. 14; see also P. Riedmatt, "Die Rätselfigur auf dem Annasbild in Dürers Kleiner Passion," *Mitteilungen der Gesellschaft für vervielfältigende Kunst*, no. 4, 1931, pp. 49ff.), but is very rare in Italy where I know of none from the early 15th century (cf. Sandberg-Vavalà, *op.cit.*, pp. 428-429, for instances of the 11th and 12th centuries). She was early given the name Procla and subjected to the same conflicting interpretations as was Pilate himself. On the one hand her dream might be considered divinely inspired (*Monebat uxor: lucebat nocte gratia: divinitas eminebat*, Ambrose, *Expositio in Evangelium secundum Lucam*, Migne, *Patr. lat.*, vol. 15, col. 1922; other citations in von Stoephasius, *op.cit.*, pp. 20ff.) and she is a saint in the Greek Church (feast day, October 27; cf. Origen, *In Matthaeum*, Migne, *Patr. gr.*, vol. 13, cols. 1773f.). On the other hand, her dream might be looked upon as the work of the devil, an effort to prevent the death of Christ and the salvation it would bring (patristic instances in von Stoe-

Thus although the mode of symbolization, at once emblematic and literal, is profoundly mediaeval, the content of the symbol is not.¹¹⁵ Indeed, for mediaeval writers the "man of two minds," *duplex animo*, was much more akin to our idea of the hypocrite. In the thirteenth century Hugo of St. Cher, for example, considered the man double in spirit to be like "one who genuflects, but disbelieves in his mind; one who would enjoy the world and God at the same time."¹¹⁶

On the other hand, the idea of double-mindedness as an independent though morally reprehensible mental state, having been introduced from Semitic sources, played an important role in Early Christian thought.¹¹⁷ Accordingly early church writers, for whom uncertainty about the faith was a very real problem, often employ *duplex animo* in the sense of doubt, as distinguished from hypocrisy.¹¹⁸ For example, Clement of Rome (first century A.D.) warns that "they which are double-minded and they which doubt concerning the power of God are set for a judgment and for a token unto all the generations."¹¹⁹ Athanasius (d. 373) gives the currently understood definition when he speaks of double-minded men as "not having one opinion, but changing to and fro, and now recommending certain statements, but soon dishonoring them, and in turn recommending what they were just now blaming."¹²⁰ And this Early Christian meaning lent itself to illustration—Judas appears with two faces on a fourth century sarcophagus illustrating the life of Christ.¹²¹ But there is an important difference from Donatello. On the sarcophagus, Judas is unquestionably represented as evil, just as double-mindedness in the Early Christian writers is looked upon in derogation. In Donatello, however, Pilate simply vacillates, and there is no hint of censure; on the contrary, one would almost say the artist depicted the situation with sympathy and understanding. While Donatello thus accepted, as it were, the early "independent" form of duplicity, he rejected the corresponding evaluation in ethical terms.

It appears that with respect both to the history of Pilate interpretation as well as the history of the concept of double-mindedness, Donatello's *bifrons* occupies a unique position. For that very reason we should wish to know its precise origin before accepting this account of its meaning. The

phasius, *loc. cit.*, culminating in the *Speculum humanae salvationis*, ch. XXII, l. 21: *Hoc fecerat diabolus, cupiens impedire Christi passionem*, ed. Lutz and Perdrizet, Leipzig, 1907, p. 46, with a brief discussion of the iconography of Procla, p. 215); this interpretation was often visualized, as when Satan appears to the sleeping Procla (cf. G. F. Warner, *Queen Mary's Psalter*, London, 1912, pl. 253; other examples in von Stoephasius, *op. cit.*, p. 98). In contrast to all the foregoing, Donatello transforms her into a moving image of supplication; as with Pilate himself abstract morality is submerged by the human drama.

114. H. Semper, *Donatellos Leben und Werke*, Innsbruck, 1887, p. 106, and Semrau, *op. cit.*, p. 120, also interpret the figure in this light.

115. I have encountered no mediaeval representations of Doubt, as such; the more remarkable considering the traditional derivation of *dubius* from *duo* and *via*, e.g., Isidore of Seville (d. 636), *Etymologiarum*, x, 77; cf. also Ripa, *op. cit.*, p. 129.

116. *Vir duplex animo* qualis qui genuflectit, sed mente diffidit, qui cum mundo simul vult gaudere et cum Domino, quod est impossibile.

(*Opera Omnia*, Venice, 1703, vol. 7, p. 312)

Compare Martinus Legionensis (d. 1203), *Expositio in Epistolam Beati Jacobi*, Migne, *Patr. lat.*, vol. 209, col. 204; also in Florence in Donatello's time, Archbishop Antoninus, *Summa Theologica*, Verona, 1740, vol. 2, col. 715.

117. See W. Bousset, *Die Religion des Judentums im späthellenistischen Zeitalter*, 3rd ed., Tübingen, 1926, pp. 418ff.

118. Aquinas (*Summa Theologica*, II, II, liii, 6, ad 2) makes the distinction explicit but for the purpose, significantly, of establishing the priority of a single concept, Lust. Classical

writers often use the term "duplex" to connote "craftiness," "wile," (e.g. Horace, I, 6, 7, in reference to Ulysses; Catullus, LXVIII, 51, in reference to Amathusia); it is used by Quintilian (9, 2, 69) to describe words of ambiguous meaning.

119. 1 *Ad Corinthios*, XI (Migne, *Patr. gr.*, vol. 1, col. 232, tr. J. B. Lightfoot, *The Apostolic Fathers*, pt. 1, vol. II, London-New York, 1890, p. 277), *inter alia*; also Pastor Hermas, *Mandatum IX*: "Consider this doubting state of mind (τὴν διψυχίαν), for it is wicked and senseless, and turns many away entirely from the faith . . ." (Migne, *Patr. gr.*, vol. 2, col. 937, tr. *Ante-Nicene Fathers*, II, Buffalo, 1885, p. 26, and *passim*). In general, see E. J. Goodspeed, *Index patristicus*, Leipzig, 1907, p. 55.

120. *De Decretis*, II, 4, Migne, *Patr. gr.*, vol. 25, col. 421; tr. *Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers*, IV, Grand Rapids, Mich., 1953, p. 152.

121. From Arles, cf. J. Wilpert, "Una perla della scultura cristiana antica di Arles," *Rivista di archeologia cristiana*, II, 1925, pp. 35ff. Similarly later, in Ripa, such concepts as *Fraude* and *Tradimento* are depicted *bifrons* (*op. cit.*, pp. 187, 518).

The evil Pilate was often associated with Judas; see the references in von Stoephasius, *op. cit.*, p. 25; also the manuscript of a middle-high-German poem (Dresden, Kgl. Bibl., Ms M.60) in which Pilate and Judas are depicted committing suicide (R. Bruck, *Die Malerei in den Handschriften des Königreichs Sachsen*, Dresden, 1906, p. 295, ch. 58-59), and the fragmentary fresco (attributed to Nardo di Cione) in the Badia of Florence where Judas commits suicide and Pilate is imprisoned (P. Bacci, "Gli affreschi di Buffalmacco scoperti nella Chiesa di Badia in Firenze," *Bollettino d'Arte*, V, 1911, pp. 1ff., figs. pp. 19, 23).

desired corroboration is supplied by two passages in the Epistle of James which were the occasion for all the comments cited above.¹²² They are the only places in the entire New Testament where the term *duplex animo* (δύψυχος) occurs. The first (1:8) reads, "A double-minded man is inconstant in all his ways,"¹²³ which is just the sort of wavering Donatello has conveyed. He recaptured the original import of the passage,¹²⁴ after it had been transferred to hypocrisy in the later Middle Ages.¹²⁵

We must further ask upon what basis Donatello applied the thought to Pilate; this is a decisive point since only in relation to Pilate does it become an insight into the deeper problems arising from judgment. The explanation is contained in the second passage in James' Epistle (4:8), which reads, "Cleanse your hands, ye sinners; and purify your hearts, ye double-minded."¹²⁶ Here is the link between double-mindedness and handwashing—the act for which Pilate, more than anyone in all history is famous, and the very act in which Donatello's *bifrons* participates.

I have deliberately taken a roundabout path to the textual basis of Donatello's image in order to emphasize less the text itself, about which there is nothing intrinsically out of the ordinary, than Donatello's interpretation of it. For as we have seen the association of this particular idea of double-mindedness with Pilate involved once again an historically oriented return to ancient sources, with a view to creating something new. Donatello used a mediaeval relic of a classical image to express a Christian-Semitic psychological condition. He could, and, as we have seen, did do so only after disassociating that condition from the moral content with which it had been imbued.¹²⁷ The something new, therefore, in this case was an attitude of mind to which doubt appears not as an alternation between good and evil, nor as a culpable hesitation, but as the natural counterpart of a free option among alternatives. Donatello has intimated, through Pilate, a characteristically modern dilemma,¹²⁸ namely, the possibility and the responsibility of choice.¹²⁹

So far as I know, the verses in James to which Donatello referred had never before been illustrated. For this reason alone, one cannot avoid the feeling that they must have held some special meaning for Donatello; a personal interest of considerable strength if it led him to create such a monster in the first place and to introduce it into what is otherwise a perfectly normal composition. As a matter of fact, the first passage occurs in the liturgy, in the Epistle from the Common of the Saints read in the mass that is celebrated in honor of San Donato of Arezzo—Donatello's patron saint.¹³⁰ Apparently, Donatello identified himself with the attitude of mind expressed by the passage. The *bifrons* might thus be conceived as a kind of psychological autograph,

122. See J. H. Ropes, *A critical and exegetical commentary on the Epistle of St. James* (International critical commentary on the Holy Scriptures, 41), New York, 1916, pp. 142ff., 269.

123. Vulg.: *Vir duplex animo inconstans est in omnibus viis suis*.

124. Which it has also later (1509), when cited by the humanist Charles de Boville, *De Sapiente*, cap. LI (E. Cassirer, *Individuum und Cosmos in der Philosophie der Renaissance* [Studien der Bibliothek Warburg, x], Leipzig-Berlin, 1927, p. 409).

125. A parallel case is that of the related concept *Inconstantia*, which was also resolved during the Middle Ages and appears as a monk throwing off his habit (cf. A. Katzenellenbogen, *Allegories of the Virtues and Vices in Mediaeval Art* (Studies of the Warburg Institute, 10), London, 1939, pp. 76, 79, 80), but which during the Renaissance might be associated with bicephalism (G. P. Valeriano, *Hieroglyphica*, Frankfurt on the Main, 1678, p. 382).

126. Vulg.: *Emundate manus, peccatores: et purificate corda, duplex animo*.

127. For the philosophical disassociation of abstract morality from social behavior, cf. C. Trinkaus, "The Problem of Free Will in the Renaissance and the Reformation," *Journal*

of the History of Ideas, x, 1949, pp. 51ff.

128. Compare the satirical poem of A. H. Clough (1819-1861) entitled *Dipsychus* (*The Poems of Arthur Hugh Clough*, eds. Lowry, Norrington, Mulhauser, Oxford, 1951, pp. 221-303); it reflects problems not unlike those expressed by Donatello's *bifrons* (cf. K. Badger, "Arthur Hugh Clough as Dipsychus," *Modern Language Quarterly*, 12, 1951, pp. 39ff., and the remarks on Clough by E. K. Chambers in *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, New York, 1911, vi, p. 561).

129. Complete realization would require merely a shift of emphasis from the negative aspect of choice, dilemma, to the positive aspect, self-determination. It is thus a nascent phase of the intellectual frame of reference that will give rise in the following decades to Pico della Mirandola's triumphant affirmation of man's indeterminacy in the famous passage on free will in *De hominis dignitate* (cf. E. Cassirer, P. O. Kristeller, J. H. Randall Jr., eds., *The Renaissance Philosophy of Man*, Chicago, 1948, p. 225).

130. *Missale Romanum*, ed. cit., p. 690; *Martyrologium Romanum*, Vatican, 1948, pp. 189f. (August 7). In Catholic countries, be it remembered, it is the custom to celebrate one's name-day, i.e. the feast of the saint after whom one is named, along with and often instead of one's own birthday.

far-reaching in its implications, but hinting also at the inner schism that must have provoked the hyperesthesia of Donatello's late style.¹³¹

Investigation of the sources thus reveals the remarkable unity of style, meaning, and function underlying the apparent diversity that characterizes the San Lorenzo pulpits. The unity is essentially one of intent, which may be defined as a concerted effort to resurrect the past and relate it to the present in a new and meaningful way. The past is therefore both an end in itself and the means to convey a more effective spiritual message. The message may have been entirely Donatello's invention; or it may have been a joint product of the humanist group surrounding Cosimo de' Medici, especially during his later years, of which a leading goal was to reconcile antiquity with Christianity by returning to the "early" phases of the Church.¹³² One is even tempted to imagine San Lorenzo as the embodiment of a collective ideal to recreate, in architecture, furnishings, as well as liturgy, a pristine Christianity.

In any case, while analysis of the sources yields a number of useful conclusions, only in rare instances is it possible to cite the actual monument, visual or literary, upon which Donatello drew. It is of course likely that some of the sources have been overlooked, or that some of them have in the meantime disappeared. It is at least equally probable, I believe, that for many elements Donatello did consciously not draw upon specific models, but upon memories, recollections more or less vague of things he had seen, or read, or heard. The pulpits indeed may be regarded primarily as a purposeful fusion of disparate images accumulated by a profoundly receptive personality during a long and varied life. If so, we must ultimately face the paradox that the "governing principle" we set out to discover lay not in the sources, but in Donatello's attitude toward them.

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131. Actually, the auto-reference was a double one. Simply because there are two faces, an association in the observer's mind with the *Prudentia bifrons* tradition mentioned earlier was to be expected; it is the image of a "prudent servant." And in the same mass for San Donato the Communion is a quotation from the Gospel of St. Luke (12:42) that begins, *Fidelis servus et prudens . . .* (*Missale Romanum*, ed. cit., p. 691. The mass seems especially concerned with the idea of servanthood: the Offertory is a passage from Psalm 88:21-22

concerning David that begins, *Inveni David servum meum . . .*). This may explain why Donatello adopted the servant as the vehicle for his comment.

132. The question cannot be resolved without more information than is available concerning the specific manner in which this goal may have affected liturgical practice. With regard to San Lorenzo, a study of the liturgical manuscripts in the possessions of the church, at present extremely difficult of access, might prove illuminating.

THEODOSIUS OR JUSTINIAN? A RENAISSANCE DRAWING OF A BYZANTINE RIDER*

PHYLLIS WILLIAMS LEHMANN

AMONG the manuscripts presented to the Budapest University Library in 1877 by Sultan Abd ul-Hamid II was a fifteenth century codex containing excerpts from miscellaneous classical authors.¹ On the next to the last folio, 144v, it has been embellished with a full-page sketch of an equestrian figure drawn in sepia ink, its heavily shaded contours and inscriptions executed with a pen, its broader areas washed in with a brush (Fig. 1).² An imperial rider sits astride a quaint steed, his right hand raised in a gesture of greeting or admonition, his left supporting an orb topped by a cross. He wears a cuirass and a military cloak over his short chiton, half-boots, and a mighty crown of feathers rising from his diadem. His eager horse has neither harness nor cloth but bears traces of a now reinless bridle.

Even before it passed to Budapest, this singular drawing had been discussed and reproduced by the Sultan's librarian, P. A. Dethier,³ who saw in it a sketch of that most celebrated of monuments, the colossal bronze statue of Justinian erected in 542 or 543 to commemorate action against the Persians and placed on a lofty column in the forecourt of the Great Church.⁴ As the sole equestrian statue in Constantinople that had survived the centuries, weathering the onslaught of Crusaders and Infidels, it had become the greatest marvel of the New Rome, evoking the wonder

* It is a pleasure to acknowledge my indebtedness and to express my gratitude to the many individuals quoted in the following notes who have so generously given me a variety of information, advice, and assistance in the preparation of this article. Foremost among them have been the Prefect of the Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, the Most Reverend Anselmo M. Albareda, the Director and Vice-Director of the Biblioteca Nazionale di San Marco, Drs. Tullia Gasparrini Leporace and Giorgio E. Ferrari, Dr. W. Gebhardt of the Westdeutsche Bibliothek in Marburg and Dr. H. Boese of the Deutsche Staatsbibliothek in Berlin, who have repeatedly answered my queries about the Buondelmonti manuscripts in their collections and supplied me with photographs for study and publication. My special indebtedness to Professor Franz Babinger will be apparent to every reader of this article. It is impossible to thank him adequately for deciphering the hitherto unread text above the Budapest drawing, for providing me with the new photographs of it reproduced in Figs. 1 and 7, and for his kindness in reading my manuscript. I am, as always, no less indebted to my husband, Karl Lehmann, for his constant and invaluable interest and advice.

1. Wilhelm Weinberger, "Beiträge zur Handschriftenkunde. I (Die Bibliotheca Corvina)," *Sitzungsberichte der Kais. Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien, philosophisch-historische Klasse*, CLIX, no. 6, Vienna, 1906, pp. 22-24. For a brief statement regarding the history and publication of this manuscript see Emil Jacobs, "Cyriacus von Ancona und Mehemed II," *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, xxx, 1929-1930, p. 200. I have been unable to obtain Alexander Szilágyi, *Catalogus Codicum Bibliothecae Universitatis R. Scientiarum Budapestensis*, Budapest, 1881, where, on p. 17, the manuscript appears as no. 35, or the additional Hungarian references cited by Johannes Kollwitz, *Oströmische Plastik der Theodosianischen Zeit (Studien zur spätantiken Kunstgeschichte, XII)*, Berlin, 1941, p. 13 n. 1.

2. I am indebted to Dr. A. Toth, Assistant Librarian of the University Library, for his kindness in sending me microfilm negatives of this page and, as remarked above, to Professor Babinger for providing me with the photographs of it reproduced as Figs. 1, 7. Although the deterioration of the page appears to have progressed still further than the state reflected in the photograph published by G. Rodenwaldt ("Das Problem der Renaissance," *Archäologischer Anzeiger*, XLVI, 1931, cols. 328ff., figs. 11-12), the greater range of tonality in the new print makes it desirable to add this second variant to the only original photograph ever published of this important but not easily accessible page. It may also be useful to quote the technical description of the page with which Rodenwaldt was provided by Dr. Pasteinet since political events have made it impossible for me to check on them myself: "Die Zeichnung in Sepia. Konturen des Kopfputzes, Pupillen, die Arme, unterer Teil des Panzers, Fuss und Schuh des Reiters, weiter Geschirr des Pferdes, Auge, Schwanz und Füsse, sowie Inschriften mit der Feder gezogen. Die übrigen Teile mit dem Pinsel laviert. Das Blatt fleckig. Pergament 27, 7 cm hoch, 21, 3 cm breit." *Ibid.*, col. 331 n. 3.

3. First characterized in a brief report in 'Ο ἐν Κωνσταντινουπόλει Ἑλληνικὸς Φιλολογικὸς Σύλλογος, "Ἔτος II, Τόμος 2, 1864, pp. 103ff., later discussed in an extensive article, "Augusteon," *Magyar Tudományok Akadémia*, XI, Budapest, 1869, pp. 1-60, pls. (the contents of which were made available to me through a translation provided by Mr. John Kintzig of the New York Public Library), and evidently returned to in *L'Univers, Revue Orientale*, March 1875, pp. 233-242. This last reference has, again, been inaccessible to me.

4. For the extensive literary sources alluding to this monument see F. W. Unger, *Quellen der byzantinischen Kunstgeschichte (Quellenschriften für Kunstgeschichte und Kunsttechnik des Mittelalters und der Renaissance, XII)*, Vienna, 1878, I, pp. 137-146, and the writers cited in notes 5, 6, 8.

and admiration of generations of European and Arab travelers⁵ until the dark day in the sixteenth century when Pierre Gilles saw it consigned to a furnace to be made into cannon.⁶ But throughout the fifteenth century it remained upright, looming large in the many replicas of Buondelmonti's lost plan of the city where it either appears as a brassy horseman towering above Hagia Sophia (Fig. 2) or is indicated by an inscription above or beside the column (Fig. 3).⁷ It is still the solitary statue visible in the views of Constantinople in both the Latin and German editions of Hartmann Schedel's *Liber chronicarum* printed in Nuremberg in 1493 and, thanks to this volume, is known to have been intact and in place at least as late as 1490. For on fol. CCLVII r (Fig. 4), statue and column alike bore the full fury of a fearful storm that swept the city on July 12 of that year according to the reports of Venetian merchants quoted in the text.⁸ Perhaps it was this

5. In addition to those cited by Unger, *ibid.*, see especially: Suidas, s.v. Ἰουστινιανός; Cyriacus of Ancona (Giuseppe Colucci, *Delle antichità picene*, xv, Fermo, 1792, p. 65); *The Bondage and Travels of Johann Schiltberger* (trans. by J. B. Telfer), London, 1879, pp. 79-80; the Russians Stephen of Novgorod, Zosimus, and an anonymous pilgrim quoted in *Itinéraires russes en Orient* (Société de l'Orient Latin, ser. géographique, v, 1, 1), Geneva, 1889, pp. 115, 202, 229; Bertrand de la Broquière, *Le voyage d'Outremer*, ed. by Ch. Schefer (*Recueil de voyages et de documents pour servir à l'histoire de la géographie*, xii), Paris, 1892, p. 159; T. Reinach, "Commentaire archéologique sur le poème de Constantin le Rhodien," *Revue des études grecques*, ix, 1896, pp. 66ff.; Giovanni Mercati, *Notizie di Procoro e Demetrio Cidone, Manuele Caleca e Teodoro Meliteniota ed altri appunti per la storia della teologia e della letteratura bizantina del secolo XIV* (*Studi e testi*, lvi), Vatican City, 1931, pp. 522f.; Antonio Muñoz, "Descrizioni di opere d'arte in un poeta bizantino del secolo XIV," *Repertorium für Kunstwissenschaft*, xxvii, 1904, pp. 394f.; A. Vasiliev, "Quelques remarques sur les voyageurs du Moyen Âge à Constantinople," *Mélanges Charles Diehl*, Paris, 1930, i, pp. 293-298; *idem*, "Harun-ibn-Yahya and His Description of Constantinople," *Seminarium Kondakovianum*, v, 1932, pp. 149-163; *idem*, "Pero Tafur, A Spanish Traveller of the Fifteenth Century and His Visit to Constantinople, Trebizond, and Italy," *Byzantion*, vii, 1932, pp. 74ff., especially p. 105; Robert of Clari, *The Conquest of Constantinople*, trans. by E. H. McNeal (*Records of Civilization*, xxiii), New York, 1936, pp. 16f., 107. Other writers such as Manuel Chrysoloras, *Epistola ad Ioannem imperatorem* (Migne, *Patr. gr.*, clvi, col. 45 B), simply allude to the column without adding or repeating any precise information about it.

6. Petrus Gyllius, *De Topographia Constantinopoleos, et de illius antiquitatibus*, Leyden, 1562, pp. 104f. Professor Franz Babinger has called my attention to a second 16th century reference to the statue in which a legendary account of Mehmed the Conqueror's reaction to it is graphically reported: *Beschreibung der Reisen des Reinhold Lubenau*, ed. by W. Sahm (*Mittheilungen aus der Stadtbibliothek zu Königsberg in Pr.*, iv-v, 1914), pp. 141f.

7. Fig. 2, taken from Marciana, mss Lat., Cl. x, no. 123, fol. 22r, has previously been reproduced, without specific identification, by Paolo Revelli, *L'Egeo*, Bergamo-Milan, 1912, p. 74, and classified by Giuseppe Gerola, "Le vedute di Costantinopoli di Cristoforo Buondelmonti," *Studi bizantini e neoellenici*, iii, 1931, *passim*. Cf., too, J. Valentinelli, *Bibliotheca Manuscripta ad D. Marci Venetiarum*, vi, Venice, 1873, p. 297. Fig. 3 illustrates fol. 36v of the Buondelmonti manuscript owned by the Gennadius Library in Athens (MS 71). I am greatly indebted to Mr. Peter Topping, director of the Library, for his kindness in allowing me to reproduce this hitherto unpublished page. This fine, richly illustrated manuscript of the *Liber insularum archipelagi* has been incorrectly dated ca. 1520 by Shirley Howard Weber, *Voyages and Travels*

in Greece, The Near East and Adjacent Regions (*Catalogues of the Gennadius Library*, ii), Princeton, 1953, p. 22, no. 96a, in spite of the correct 15th century date proposed by its original owner George Gennadius in his typed *Catalogue of Manuscripts in The Gennadius Library*, London, 1922, p. 22. For discussion of the conflicting identifications of the statue of Justinian found in both the text and illustrations of the preserved copies of Buondelmonti's description of Constantinople see below p. 53.

8. See, too, folios CXXIX v-CXXX r, CCXLIX r, CCLXXIV r, CCXC v of the Latin and folios CXXIX v-CXXX r, CCXLIX r and CCLVII r of the German edition. For the fact that Schedel accepted a mediaeval interpretation of the statue as Constantine, see below, notes 81, 98. The importance of this document for the history of the celebrated statue was recognized long ago by V. von Loga, "Die Städteansichten in Hartmann Schedels Weltchronik," *Jbh. der k.-preuss. Kunstsamm.* ix, 1888, p. 194, and Théodore Reinach, *op.cit.*, p. 84 n. 1, pp. 101, 103, but it has been curiously ignored by the many subsequent writers who have assumed that the statue was destroyed by the Conqueror. Emil Jacobs ("Cyriacus von Ancona und Mehmed II," p. 200 n. 2), on the basis of a passage in Angiolello, assumed that Justinian's equestrian statue was taken down by Mehmed. But the statue mentioned by that reliable commentator on the Sultan and his surroundings is not only not described as a horseman but is explicitly identified as a figure of St. Augustine. Inasmuch as this statue, too, stood in the Augusteum, and Justinian's monument has occasionally been referred to by the name of the square, Jacobs evidently conjectured that the bronze statue mentioned by Angiolello actually represented the imperial horseman rather than the Church Father. But there is every reason to accept the literal testimony of so well-informed a writer as Angiolello, especially since the anecdote he recounts is no less credible apropos of a now lost statue of that prime Christian, St. Augustine, than of the famous monument of Justinian. Jean Reinhard, the French editor of Angiolello, has also accepted this passage at face value, in his *Essai sur J.-M. Angiolello*, Angers, 1913, p. 167. (For the Italian text see Jacobs, *loc.cit.*; for Angiolello's career see, in addition to Reinhard, Gotthold Weil, "Ein unbekannter türkischer Transkriptionstexte aus dem Jahre 1489," *Oriens*, vi, 1953, pp. 260ff., and Franz Babinger, *Maometto il Conquistatore e il suo tempo*, Turin, 1957, *passim*.) Hence Schedel's text and illustration remain of paramount documentary importance for the history of Justinian's statue. For discussion of the illustrations of the *Liber chronicarum*, in particular, of the reliability of those depicting Constantinople, cf. Von Loga, *op.cit.*, pp. 93-107, 184-196, and Eugen Oberhummer, *Konstantinopel unter Sultan Suleiman dem Grossen aufgenommen im Jahre 1559 durch Melchior Lorichs aus Flensburg*, Munich, 1902, pp. 20f. Cf., too, Rudolf Bernoulli, "Das Weltallbild in Hartmann Schedels Weltchronik," *Buch und Einband* (*Aufsätze und graphische Blätter zum 60. Geburtstag von Hans Loubier*), Leipzig, 1923, p. 48.

storm that ultimately destroyed the statue by loosening its attachments at a time when no Byzantine Emperor could have it lovingly repaired as so many had done in the past.

Dethier's interpretation of the Budapest drawing has been accepted without question by writers on Byzantine history, art, literature, and topography for nearly a century. Of the two drawings after the fifteenth century original that he published, the earlier and faultier has been widely reproduced via the first copy of it, which appeared in 1891 in A. D. Mordtmann's *Esquisse topographique de Constantinople* (Fig. 5).⁹ Acceptance of this interpretation has always rested on the analogy between the drawing and the lengthier late antique or mediaeval descriptions of Justinian's equestrian statue, in particular, that of Procopius. For that most reliable of contemporary writers, after marveling at the extraordinary column erected in the Augusteum continues:

And on the summit of the column stands a gigantic bronze horse, facing toward east, a very noteworthy sight. He seems about to advance, and to be splendidly pressing forward. Indeed he holds his left fore foot in the air, as though it were about to take a forward step on the ground before him, while the other is pressed down upon the stone on which he stands, as if ready to take the next step; his hind feet he holds close together, so that they may be ready whenever he decides to move. Upon this horse is mounted a

9. *Revue de l'art chrétien*, ser. IV, vol. II, 1891, pp. 470-472 (reprinted separately in Lille, 1892). On p. 471, Mordtmann reproduced the faulty illustration that accompanied the summary of Dethier's lecture to the Greek Philological Society in Constantinople in 1864 (here Fig. 5), evidently being unaware of the corrected drawing after the original that accompanied Dethier's subsequent Hungarian publication (here Fig. 8). Apart from its most serious flaw, the omission of one word of the inscription applied to the horse, to which I shall return, this drawing is an inaccurate oversimplification of the original in which all trace of modeling is omitted along with characteristic details, for example, of the girdle and boots, while nonexistent cast shadows and a nonexistent incipient rein are introduced. Via Mordtmann's widely read article, this unreliable drawing was further reproduced by: N. V. Pokrovsky, "The Byzantine Shield Found in Kertsch," *Materials for Russian Archaeology*, VIII, 1892, p. 35 (in Russian); T. Reinach, *op.cit.*, p. 84, fig. 6; Charles Diehl, *Justinien*, Paris, 1901, p. 27, fig. 11; S. Reinach, *Répertoire de la statuaire grecque et romaine*, IV, Paris, 1913, p. 336, no. 4; Jean Ebersolt, *Constantinople byzantine et les voyageurs du Levant*, Paris, 1918, pp. 29-30, fig. 6; *idem*, *Les arts somptuaires de Byzance*, Paris, 1923, p. 126, fig. 59; and Otto von Simson, "The Bamberg Rider," *Review of Religion*, IV, 1940, p. 269, pl. III, fig. 2. (Evidently the reconstruction of Justinian's equestrian monument proposed by E. M. Antoniadis, "Ἐκφρασις τῆς Ἀγίας Σοφίας, Athens, 1907, I, p. 59, fig. 7, is partially derived from Mordtmann's illustration.) Dethier's identification of the drawing has also been accepted by J. B. de Rossi, *Inscriptiones christianae urbis Romae*, Rome, 1888, p. 374; O. Wulff, "Die sieben Wunder von Byzanz und die Apostelkirche nach Konstantinos Rhodios," *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, VII, 1898, p. 318; E. Babelon, "Deux Médaillons disparus de Domitien et de Justinien," *Revue numismatique*, ser. IV, vol. III, 1899, p. 5; Eugen Oberhummer, "Constantinopolis," in Pauly-Wissowa, *Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft*, IV, Stuttgart, 1901, col. 987; Cornelius Gurlitt, *Antike Denkmalsäulen in Konstantinopel*, Munich, p. 7 (Since I have been able to obtain this article only in a reprint given to the Gennadius Library in Athens, I am unaware of the journal in which it appeared. Apparently it was after 1907); Warwick Wroth, *Catalogue of the Imperial Byzantine Coins in the British Museum*, London, 1908, I, pp. xc f.; O. M. Dalton, *Byzantine Art and Archaeology*, Oxford, 1911, p. 124; Oskar Wulff, *Altchristliche und byzantinische Kunst*, Berlin, 1918, I, p. 159; Jean Ebersolt, *Mélanges d'histoire et d'archéologie byzantines*, Paris, 1917, p. 68 n. 4; P. E. Schramm, "Das Herrscherbild in der Kunst des frühen Mittelalters," *Vorträge der Bibliothek Warburg*, II, 1922-1923, p. 154; Charles Diehl, *Manuel d'art byzantin*, 2nd ed., Paris,

1925, I, p. 280; W. R. Paton, *The Greek Anthology (The Loeb Classical Library)*, v, London, 1926, p. 192 (where it appears in illustration of the different equestrian type represented on Justinian's lost gold medallion mentioned below in spite of Unger's remarks, *Quellen*, p. 325 and "Ueber die vier Kolossal-Säulen in Constantinopel," *Repertorium für Kunstwissenschaft*, II, 1879, p. 134; Wilhelm Schubart, *Justinian und Theodora*, Munich, 1943, p. 202, has perpetuated this confusion by introducing the same epigram alluding to still another equestrian statue of Justinian into his discussion of the monument in the Augusteum which he, too, accepts as represented in an unidentified "Federzeichnung aus dem 14. Jahrhundert" that can only be the Budapest rider); Jacobs, *op.cit.*, p. 200; Constantin VII Porphyrogénète, *Le Livre des Cérémonies* (ed. A. Vogt), Paris, 1935, p. 113; A. M. Schneider, *Byzanz (Istanbuler Forschungen, VIII)*, Berlin, 1936, p. 80; André Grabar, *L'Empereur dans l'art byzantin (Publications de la Faculté des lettres de l'Université de Strasbourg, fasc. 75)*, Paris, 1936, pp. 46-47; R. Janin, *Constantinople Byzantine (Archives de l'Orient Chrétien, IV)*, Paris, 1950, pp. 78f.; Franz Babinger, *Mehmed der Eroberer und seine Zeit*, Munich, 1953, p. 506; *idem*, *Maometto il Conquistatore e il suo tempo*, pp. 684f. (references to this volume hereafter will be solely to the later Italian edition); Guido Libertini, "Un gruppo marmareo da Melos del Museo di Atene e la scultura equestre Romana," *Annuario della scuola archeologica di Atene e delle missioni italiane in Oriente*, XXX-XXXII, 1952-1954, p. 381 n. 3. Down to the mid-20th century, all the authors cited above, with the exception of Jacobs and Babinger, have labored under the false impression that this repeatedly discussed manuscript was still in the Séraglio Library. (For the equally remarkable inaccuracy with which the drawing has been dated, see below, note 63.) But in 1931, an actual photograph of the drawing was published for the first time by G. Rodenwaldt, *op.cit.*, figs. 11-12, whence it has been reproduced as the frontispiece to Procopius, VII, *Buildings*, trans. by H. B. Dewing (*The Loeb Classical Library*), Cambridge, 1940, by Kollwitz, *op.cit.*, Beilage 2, by Siegfried Fuchs, "Bildnisse und Denkmäler aus der Ostgotenzeit," *Die Antike*, XIX, 1943, fig. 8, p. 118, and by H. P. L'Orange, *Studies on the Iconography of Cosmic Kingship in the Ancient World*, Oslo, 1953, p. 147, fig. 104. These writers, as well as Glanville Downey in his appendix to Dewing's edition of Procopius, pp. 395-398, and his later articles ("Justinian as Achilles," *Transactions and Proceedings of the American Philological Association*, LXXI, 1940, pp. 69ff. and "Notes on the Topography of Constantinople," *ART BULLETIN*, XXXIV, 1952, p. 235) have continued to accept the Budapest drawing as a representation of Justinian's statue in the Augusteum.

colossal bronze figure of the Emperor. And the figure is habited like Achilles, that is, the costume he wears is known by that name. He wears half-boots and his legs are not covered by greaves. Also he wears a breastplate in the heroic fashion, and a helmet covers his head and gives the impression that it moves up and down, and a dazzling light flashes forth from it. One might say, in poetic speech, that here is the star of Autumn. And he looks toward the rising sun, directing his course, I suppose, against the Persians. And in his left hand he holds a globe, by which the sculptor signifies that the whole earth and sea are subject to him, yet he has neither sword nor spear nor any other weapon, but a cross stands upon the globe which he carries, the emblem by which alone he has obtained both his Empire and his victory in war. And stretching forth his right hand toward the rising sun and spreading out his fingers, he commands the barbarian in that quarter to remain at home and to advance no further.¹⁰

Clearly Procopius was describing a monument remarkably similar to the one depicted in the Budapest drawing. But was it identical? One may brush aside his emphasis on the horse's hind feet "held close together," unlike those in the drawing, "so that he may be ready whenever he decides to move" as easily, if needlessly, altered by the draftsman. But what of the "helmet" covering the rider's head? Even if this was the legendary *toupha*, the helmet crested with feathers, worn by the Emperor on the great lost gold medallion of which a replica is preserved in the British Museum (Fig. 8),¹¹ it differs radically from the majestic, swaying crown of peacock feathers springing from a royal diadem upon which the draftsman has lavished such detail (Fig. 7).¹² The testimony of a later writer, Georgius Pachymeres, confirms Procopius' characterization of the Emperor's headgear as a helmet, indeed, as a helmet tipped with gilded

10. VII, 1, II, 5ff. The translation is Dewing's *loc.cit.*, pp. 33-37.

ἐν δὲ τοῦ κίονος τῇ κορυφῇ χαλκοῦς ἐστῆκεν ὑπερμεγέθης ἱππος τετραμμένος πρὸς ἑω, θέαμα λόγου πολλοῦ ἄξιον. ἔοικε δὲ βαδισμένῳ καὶ τοῦ πρόσω λαμπρῶς ἐχομένῳ. ποδῶν τῶν προσθίων ἀμέλει τὸν μὲν ἀριστερὸν μετεωρίζει, ὡς ἐπιβησόμενον τῆς ἐπίπροσθεν γῆς, ὁ δὲ δεξιὸς ἐπὶ τοῦ λίθου ἡρήρεισται οὐ υπερθὲν ἐστίν, ὡς τὴν βάσιν ἐκδεχόμενος· τοὺς δὲ ὀπισθίους οὕτω ξυνάγει ὡς, ἐπειδὴ τὸ μὴ ἐστήξειν αὐτοῖς ἐπιβάλλοι, ἐν ἐτοίμῳ εἶεν. τοῦτ' αὖτε τῷ ἱππὶ χαλκῇ ἐπιβέβηκε τοῦ βασιλέως εἰκὼν κολοσσῶ ἐμφορῆς. ἑσταλται δὲ Ἀχιλλεὺς ἡ εἰκὼν οὕτω γὰρ τὸ σχῆμα καλοῦσιν ὅπερ ἀμύνεται· τὰς τε γὰρ ἀρβύλας ὑποδέχεται καὶ τὰ σφυρὰ ἐστὶ κνημίδων χωρὶς. εἴτα ἡρωικῶς τεθωράκισται καὶ κράνος αὐτῷ τὴν κεφαλὴν σκέπει δόξαν ὡς κατασεύοιτο παρεχόμενον, ἀγλὴν τέ τις ἐνθένδε αὐτοῦ ἀπαστράπτει. φαίη τις ἂν ποιητικῶς εἶναι τὸν ὀκρινὸν ἐκείνον ἀστέρα. βλέπει δὲ πρὸς ἀνίσχοντά που τὸν ἥλιον, τὴν ἡνιόχῃσιν ἐπὶ Πέρσας, οἶμαι, ποιούμενος. καὶ φέρει μὲν χειρὶ τῇ λαίῳ πόλον, παραδελῶν δὲ πλάστης ὅτι γῆ τε αὐτῷ καὶ θάλασσα δεδούλωται πᾶσα, ἔχεν δὲ οὔτε ξίφος οὔτε δοράτιον οὔτε ἄλλο τῶν ὅπλων οὐδέν, ἀλλὰ σταυρὸς αὐτῷ ἐπὶ τοῦ πόλου ἐπίκειται, ὅτι οὐδὲ μόνον τὴν τε βασιλείαν καὶ τὸ τοῦ πολέμου πεπóρισται κράτος. προτεινόμενος δὲ χεῖρα τὴν δεξιὰν ἐς τὰ πρὸς ἀνίσχοντα ἥλιον καὶ τοὺς δακτύλους διαπετάσας ἐγκελεύεται τοῖς ἐκείνῃ βαρβάροις καθῆσθαι οἴκοι καὶ μὴ πρόσω ἵναι.

For comment on the phrase "habited like Achilles," see Downey, *ibid.*, pp. 395ff., "Justinian as Achilles," *loc.cit.*, and "Paganism and Christianity in Procopius," *Church History*, XVIII, 1949, p. 39, as well as M. P. Charlesworth, "Pietas and Victoria: The Emperor and the Citizen," *Journal of Roman Studies*, XXXIII, 1943, pp. 1-10.

11. Wroth, *op.cit.*, I, frontispiece, p. xci, n. 1, and p. 25. For additional bibliography on and discussion of this unique piece found in Caesarea in Cappadocia in 1751, stolen from the Cabinet des Médailles in 1831, and today known only from the electrotype in the British Museum see, especially, E. Babelon, *loc.cit.*, p. 5, and Jocelyn M. C. Toynbee, *Roman Medallions (Numismatic Studies, no. 5)*, New York, 1944, pp. 177, 183, 224, 226, pl. XLIX, 3. (Schramm, *loc.cit.*, p. 154 n. 26, has multiplied confusion by assuming that the reverse of this lost medallion as well as the Budapest drawing reflect the same prototype—Justinian's equestrian statue in the Augusteum—in spite of their obvious differences.) I am indebted to

Dr. J. P. C. Kent, Assistant Keeper of the Department of Coins and Medals, for his kindness in permitting me to reproduce the above photograph of this electrotype and, especially, for allowing me to consult him in regard to numismatic problems.

Unger (*Quellen*, p. 325) has correctly drawn attention to the analogy between this equestrian portrait of Justinian preceded by Victory and the epigram on the base of a statue of the same Emperor in the Hippodrome recorded in the *Greek Anthology*, XVI, 62 (Paton, *loc.cit.*, p. 192).

12. Ebersolt (*Mélanges*, p. 68 n. 4, and *Les arts somptuaires*, p. 126) as well as Wulff and Vogt (*ll. cc.*) and Schramm (*op.cit.*, p. 161 n. 55) assumed that the drawing illustrated the appearance of the *toupha*. But, as both Grabar (*op.cit.*, pp. 46f., 131) and Kollwitz (*op.cit.*, p. 13 n. 3) have observed, this is not the case. For the Persian *toupha* (according to Ioannis Tzetzes, *Historiarum variarum Chiliades*, Leipzig, 1826, VIII, 305ff.) introduced into Constantinople by Justinian and seemingly represented on the lost gold medallion was not a simple circlet of gold surmounted by plumes but a variety of plumed helmet. (Rodenwaldt, *op.cit.*, col. 335 n. 1, has confused the issue further by defining the *toupha* as "einem mit einem Busch von Straussenfedern geschmückten, aus Tiara und Diadem zusammengesetzten Helm," while it is generally agreed that the essential feature of this richly symbolic Persian headgear is its peacock feathers. Cf., for example, Von Simson, *op.cit.*, p. 269.) Both Grabar and Kollwitz concluded that the draftsman responsible for the Budapest drawing misunderstood what they assumed to be his model, the genuine *toupha* on Justinian's statue, although Kollwitz also considered the possibility that the original *toupha* might have been replaced by the feathered crown of the drawing in a later restoration of the statue. The fact remains that the two headdresses are not the same and that every effort to equate them in order to adjust both statue and drawing to the literary texts, hence to make one a reflection of the other, is doomed. For remarks on the varied meanings of the word *toupha* see Jacobus Gretser's commentary on Codinus, *De officiis*, Ch. III, p. 45 c (*Corpus scriptorum historiae byzantinae*, Bonn, XII, 1839, p. 227 [hereafter cited as CSHB]), as well as the comments of DuCange, *Glossarium mediae et infimae latinitatis*, Niort, X, 1882, p. 82).

feathers.¹³ Both Pachymeres and Nicephorus Gregoras mention still other features of the lost statue that do not tally with the horseman of the drawing: the horse's startled head turned to one side, his long tail falling to his feet; the rider's mantle billowing out behind him, that mantle spangled with symbols of heaven and earth.¹⁴ Pachymeres adds a further disquieting detail. At his time, in the fourteenth century, the horse no longer retained the bridle that careful inspection revealed it once had worn.¹⁵ Surely the reinless bridle of the drawing was not a contemporary repair. And what of the iron chains that Clavijo saw crossing the horse's body early in the very same fifteenth century, those chains needed to hold it in place now that its original fastenings had weakened?¹⁶ Did the draftsman eliminate them as an unsightly encumbrance? Finally why was this presumed drawing of Justinian's colossal statue labeled with the name of his great predecessor as defender of the faith, Theodosius? For the word THEODOSI and the phrase GLORIAE PERENNIS are plainly visible, if strangely placed, on this supposedly sole representation of Justinian's lost monument (Figs. 1, 6).¹⁷

The majority of writers concerned with the Budapest drawing have passed over these awkward words in silence, neglecting to mention their very existence. But a few, unable to ignore them, have dismissed them as a late addition to the drawing.¹⁸ On the contrary, they are contemporary with it, executed with the same pen and sepia ink as that employed for the horse and his rider.¹⁹ What is more, they are the most telltale element in the entire drawing, for they can have but one meaning: they form the phrase GLORIAE PERENNIS THEODOSI, a phrase that can only be

13. Georgius Pachymeres, "Εκφρασις (*Descriptio Augusteonis*) in A. Banduri, *Imperium orientale sive Antiquitates Constantinopolitanae*, Paris, 1711, I, p. 116. Leo Grammaticus, *Chronographia*, p. 456 B (CSHB, XXVII, 1842, p. 227) offers no evidence on this score in spite of his reference to the rider's *τοῦ φη*.

14. *Ibid.*, pp. 115f., and Nicephorus Gregoras, *Historia Byzantina*, VII, 12, ser. 4 (CSHB, XIX, 1829, p. 275f.).

15. *Loc.cit.*, p. 115.

16. Ruy Gonzalez de Clavijo, *Historia del gran Tamorlan*, 2nd ed., Madrid, 1782 (*Coleccion de la cronicas de Castilla*, III, 2), p. 58. Cf., too, Nicephorus Gregoras, *loc.cit.*

17. As previously noted, the most serious flaw in Dethier's first reproduction of the drawing (here Fig. 5) was its omission of the word PERENNIS inscribed on the horse's neck. This omission proved especially unfortunate since it was this drawing alone that was easily accessible to scholars via Mordtmann's and Diehl's republication of it until Rodenwaldt's publication of an actual photograph of the drawing. Previously, only T. Reinach had been at pains to obtain a copy of Dethier's Hungarian article. The omission of one word of the seemingly enigmatic inscription on or near the horse's body may have contributed to the tendency to ignore it by rendering it still less intelligible. S. Reinach (*Répertoire*, IV, p. 336 no. 4) has reduced this already simplified drawing still further by eliminating all the words save THEO-DOS (*sic*)!

18. Dethier, "Ὁ ἐν Κωνσταντινουπόλει . . . Σύλλογος", p. 104, mistakenly quoted the total inscription as FON (S) GLORIAE PERENNIS THEODOSIUS. Referring to a note found inserted in the codex on a slip of paper written in a 17th century Greek hand in which the rider was identified first as Aristotle and, later, after erasure of the word Aristotle, as Alexander, Dethier drew the additional, false, conclusion that the inscription on the horse, too, must have been added two hundred or two hundred and fifty years later, that is, at a time when the identity of the by then lost statue of Justinian needed explanation, an explanation unnecessary in the 15th century when it was still the only such monument upright. According to this view, the inscription was, therefore, a later misinterpretation of the true identity of the rider. In his subsequent study, "Augusteon," p. 18, Dethier slightly modified this view, narrowing the age of the troublesome inscriptions to a period

only eighty years later than the drawing. Oppressed by the allusion to a Theodosius and the known existence of equestrian statues in honor of both the emperors bearing this name, he eliminated them as possible sources of the drawing by relying on the fact that in the 15th century no other monument of this character save Justinian's was still upright. Amusingly enough, Dethier characterized the lettering of these inscriptions as pure Latin writing of the Renaissance unlike the "Gothic" writing of the text.

Mordtmann (*op.cit.*, p. 471), noting that in the view of Constantinople in a manuscript of Buondelmonti in Venice (Marc. Lat. Cl. XIV, 45) the column before Hagia Sophia had been labeled as bearing a statue not of Justinian but of Theodosius (a theory echoed by Pokrovsky, *loc.cit.*), explained both this fact and the reference to Theodosius on the drawing as the result of Zonaras' statement, *Epitome historiarum*, XIV, 6, p. 11, 63 C (Teubner, Leipzig, 1870, III, p. 274) that Justinian's monument was erected on the spot previously occupied by a column bearing a statue of Theodosius. By implication, therefore, he considered the inscriptions of both the drawing and the Buondelmonti plan a mistaken interpretation but he did not characterize them as additions. For discussion of the relationship between the Budapest drawing and this variant tradition in Buondelmonti see below, p. 53. T. Reinach (*op.cit.*, p. 83) repeated this observation of Mordtmann but, on the whole, followed Dethier's modified statement. Wulff and Kollwitz are the only other writers who have considered these inscriptions. The former (*Altchristliche und byzantinische Kunst*, p. 159), changing his own earlier opinion that the inscription represented a mistaken conjecture regarding the statue's identity, suggested that conceivably Justinian's statue had originally represented Theodosius before being converted to a secondary use. Kollwitz, too, pp. 14f., adopted this view and, linking it with a further observation regarding the text of Buondelmonti, suggested that the inscriptions on the drawing might reflect an old inscription on the statue itself. For further reference to these points, including the possibility that Justinian's statue was a reused earlier monument see below p. 53.

19. According to the explicit statement, quoted above in note 2, of the only expert who has examined the manuscript in Budapest.

interpreted as the legend of a coin or medallion. The Budapest drawing is a careful copy not of Justinian's lost equestrian statue but of an equally lost gold medallion of Theodosius the Great!

During the last years of his reign, between 392 and 395, the mints of Constantinople, Cyzicus, Nicomedia, Antioch, and Alexandria issued small bronze coins bearing on their reverse an equestrian figure of Theodosius facing toward the right (Figs. 9, 10).²⁰ Like the Budapest drawing, they show the Emperor mounted on a horse seen in pure profile, a horse characterized by a small head, by one raised and one solidly planted foreleg, by similarly placed, widely spaced hind legs, by a three-quarter length tail and by the same lack of harness, saddle cloth and, in some instances, of bridle. Although this specific numismatic type was by no means the source of the Budapest drawing,²¹ it reflects conventions common to numismatic iconography and present in the drawing such as the omission of the horse's gear. However, the most striking feature shared by the drawing and coins is the singular right hand of the Emperor, that right hand not only raised palm outward in the same ritual gesture but remarkable for its disproportionate size and the extreme emphasis given its exaggeratedly long fingers.²² These diminutive coins did not afford space for the rich detail characteristic of the Budapest rider's costume—indeed, they even omit the Emperor's left arm. Such details could only be rendered on large medallions. But still earlier, under Valens and the Valentinians, gold *solidi* and multiples had been issued bearing an equestrian imperial figure.²³ From the time of Diocletian on, gold multiples had become a prime feature of imperial display.²⁴ These great presentation pieces, useful as gifts with which to impress a barbarian ally, were more often than not unique, like Justinian's lost medallion and a host of other known examples. Their intrinsic value has, in time, equally often led to their later disappearance.²⁵ Hence the fact that no gold medallion of Theodosius the Great representing the Emperor as an equestrian figure is preserved in no way weakens the hypothesis that such a medallion could have existed or alters the fundamental fact that no detail of the Budapest drawing would be incompatible with such a numismatic prototype. Even the all-important orb surmounted by a cross appears on the Emperor's gold coinage.²⁶

Like the coins, these gold medallions bear legends—legends in which the concept of glory, even of perpetual glory, recurs. Constantine's medallion with the reverse legend GLORIA CONSTANTINI AUG or his GLORIA PERPETUA AUG N come close to the *Gloriae Perennis Theodosi* of the

20. Cf., for example, Harold Mattingly, C. H. V. Sutherland and R. A. G. Carson, *The Roman Imperial Coinage*, IX (Valentinian I—Theodosius I by J. W. E. Pearce), London, 1951, pp. XXXII, 236, no. 89, a-c, 238, 247, no. 29, a-c, 263, no. 47, a-c, 294, no. 69, a-c, 304, no. 22, a-c. Aes. III. Obv.: DN THEODOSIUS PF AUG. Emperor pearl diademed, draped and cuirassed to right. Rev.: GLORIA-ROMANORUM. Emperor on horseback to right, raising right hand. Varying mint marks. The type was also issued in other mints as well by Arcadius and Honorius. Pearce relates its issue by Theodosius to Honorius' accession to the throne.

Fig. 10 is taken from pl. XVI, 23 of this volume, an example in the British Museum from the mint of Cyzicus. Fig. 9 is a similar piece from the mint of Antioch belonging to the American Numismatic Society in New York. I am indebted to Mrs. Aline A. Boyce for her great courtesy in allowing me to examine and have photographed numerous coins of interest in this connection and for permission to reproduce this example.

21. If for no other reason than that it shows the right foreleg of the horse raised rather than the left, as in the drawing. For additional still more cogent reasons see below.

22. The example issued by Arcadius illustrated by J. Saba-tier, *Description générale des monnaies byzantines frappées sous les empereurs d'orient* (depuis Arcadius jusqu'à la prise de Constantinople par Mehmed II), reprinted ed., Leipzig, 1930, I, pl. IV, 15, illustrates this feature particularly graphically.

23. Cf., for example, Pearce, *op.cit.*, pp. 15, no. 8, 50, no. 37, 75, no. 1, 94, no. 1, 275, no. 14, 276, no. 18, and *idem*, "The Coinage of the Valentinian and Theodosian Periods," *Numismatic Circular*, XXXIX, 1931, and XL, 1932, *passim*, for both these gold coins and the bronzes cited in note 20. Pearce's later article, "The Gold Coinage of the Reign of Theodosius I," *Numismatic Chronicle*, ser. 5, vol. XVIII, 1938, pp. 205ff. makes it clear that no equestrian type occurs on the gold coinage of this emperor.

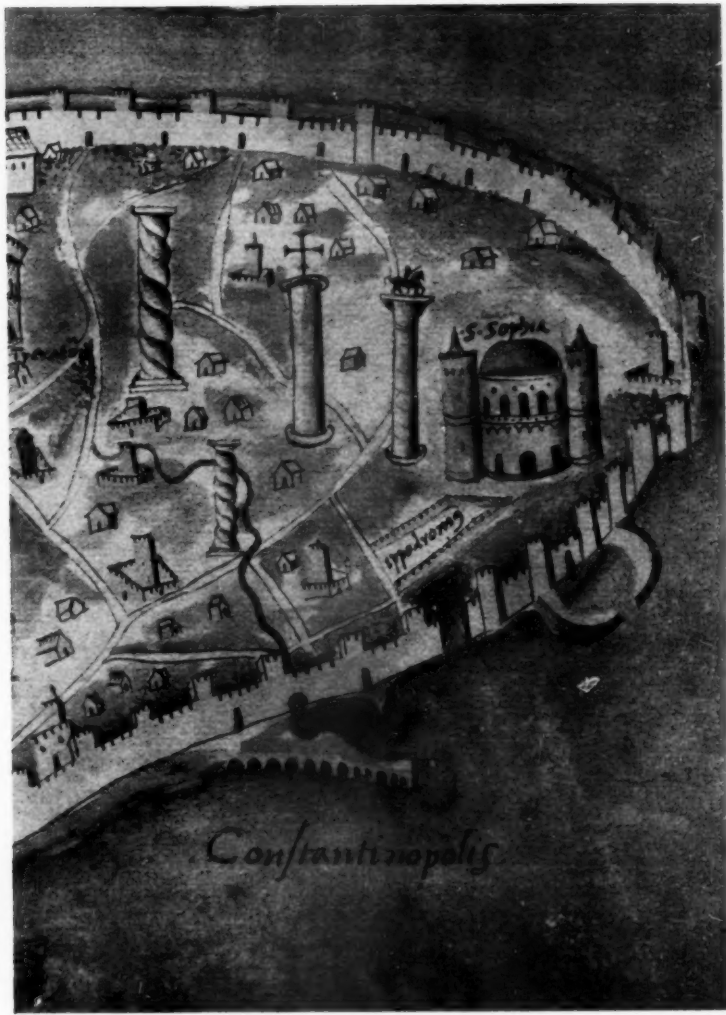
24. See, for example, Miss Toynbee's remarks, *op.cit.*, pp. 22, 24, 125f., and Pearce, *op.cit.*, p. XXVII.

25. See the statistics accompanying Pearce's catalogue, *passim*, and Miss Toynbee's statement regarding the larger gold medallions (*op.cit.*, p. 22), "one example, or at the most two or three known examples, of any given type is the general rule." This point is illustrated, for example, by the unique gold medallion of the Emperor Justin belonging to the Cabinet des Médailles in Paris and illustrated by Hayford Peirce and Royale Tyler (*L'art byzantin*, II, Paris, 1934, p. 94, pl. 72, E-F), which also has an equestrian type on its reverse, while the loss of such unique pieces is again cited by Miss Toynbee (*op.cit.*, p. 102 n. 65, p. 198), to mention only a few instances.

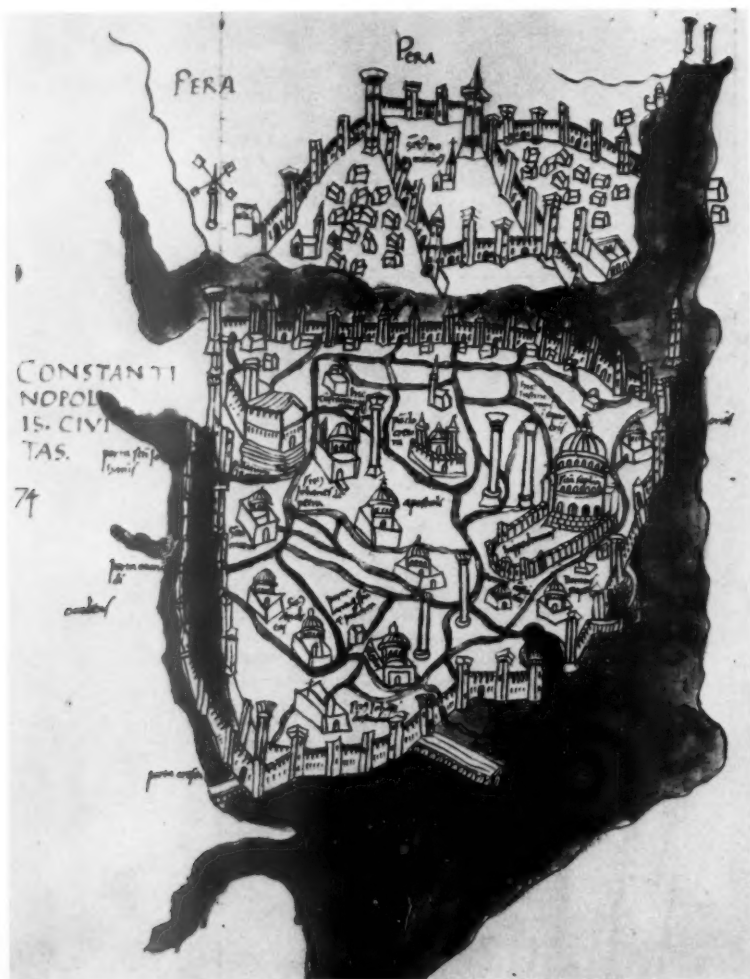
26. For example, Pearce, *op.cit.*, pp. 78, no. 11 a-c, 81, no. 23 a-c, 84, no. 37 a-c, 232, no. 75 a-c.



1. Drawing of Imperial Rider. Budapest University Library, MS 35, fol. 144v



2. View of Constantinople, detail (From Buondelmonti, *Liber insularum archipelagi*). Venice, Bibl. Marciana, MS Lat. Cl. X, 123, fol. 22r



3. View of Constantinople (From Buondelmonti, *Liber insularum archipelagi*). Athens, Gennadius Library, MS 71, fol. 36v



4. View of Constantinople, detail (From Hartmann Schedel, *Liber chronicarum*, fol. CCLVII r)



5. Simplified Version of Fig. 1, as published by P. A. Dethier in 1864
(From A. D. Mordtmann, *Esquisse . . .*, p. 471)



6. Corrected Drawing after Fig. 1, published by P. A. Dethier in 1869



7. Detail of Fig. 1



8. Replica of Lost Gold Medallion of Justinian
London, British Museum



9. Reverse of Bronze Coin of Theodosius I
from the Mint of Antioch
New York, American Numismatic Society



10. Reverse of Bronze Coin of Theodosius I
from the Mint of Cyzicus
London, British Museum



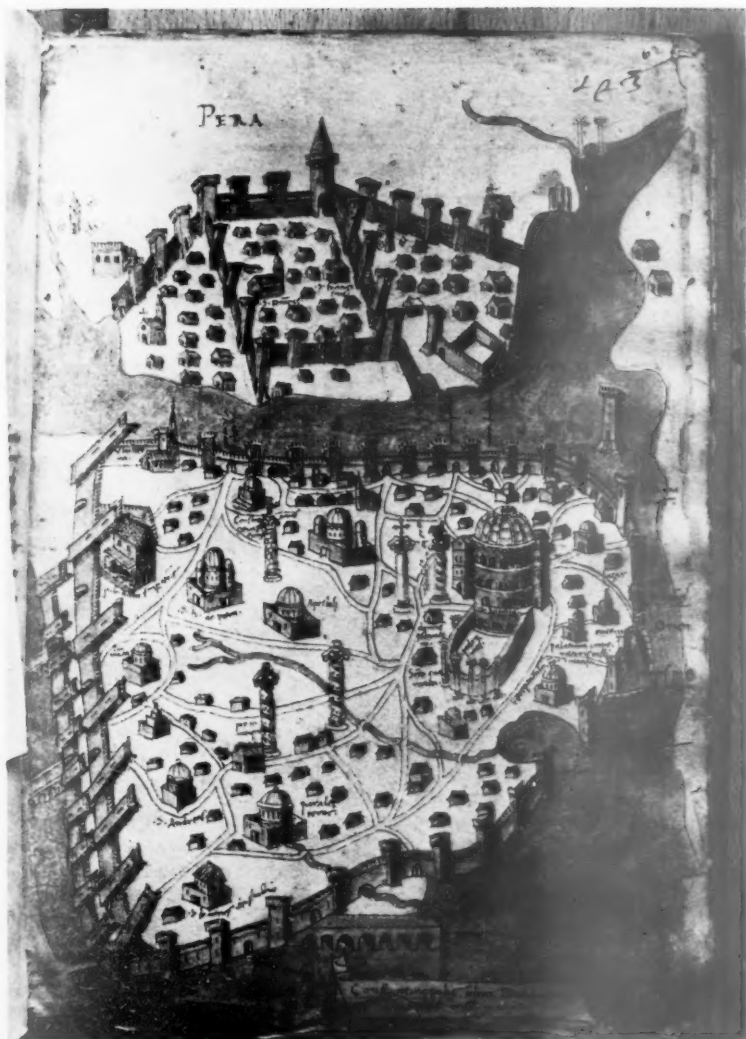
11. Gold Medallion of Theodosius I
Mounted as Pendant of a Byzantine Pectoral
Washington, Freer Gallery



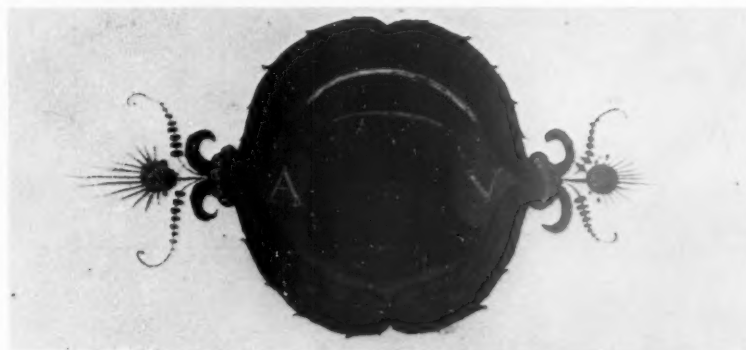
13. Portrait of Frederick III. Vienna, St. Stephen's Cathedral



12. Tomb of Frederick III. Vienna, St. Stephen's Cathedral



14. View of Constantinople (From Buondelmonti, *Liber insularum archipelagi*). Venice, Bibl. Marciana, MS Lat. Cl. XIV, 45, p. 123



16. Device from Dedicatory Page. Marburg, Westdeutsche Bibliothek, MS Hamilton 108, fol. 1 r



15. View of Constantinople (From Buondelmonti, *Liber insularum archipelagi*). Marburg, Westdeutsche Bibliothek, MS Hamilton 108, fol. 70

clariss^{mo}. Senat^{is}. D. Ant. venerio.
 Metui quicumq^{ue} cupis terras q^{ue} fretum q^{ue}
 Haec: frustra lector quid potis illa: pete.
 Bernardi Bembi manus f

17. Bembo's Eulogy of Antonio Venier. Marburg, Westdeutsche Bibliothek, MS Hamilton 108, fol. 11 v

drawing.²⁷ Still closer, insofar as they are also cast in the genitive case, are such reverse legends as CONSTANTINI CAES, MAXIMINI AUG, or DD NN IOVII LICINII INVICT AUG ET CAESS and DN CONSTANTINI MAX INV AUG.²⁸ But closest of all, in this respect, was the legend on the precious gold medallions sent by Tiberius Constantinus to the Frankish king Childebert and described by Gregory of Tours:

He [Childebert] showed me also gold coins each of a pound's weight sent by the emperor having on one side the likeness of the emperor and the inscription in a circle: *Tiberii Constantini Perpetui Augusti* and on the other a four-horse chariot and charioteer with the inscription *Gloria Romanorum*.²⁹

Needless to say, these pieces, too, have all perished and would be unknown were it not for Gregory's description.

Thus although the exact formula *Gloria Perennis* is not otherwise preserved on Roman coins or medallions, in content and grammatical structure the isolated phrase *Gloriae Perennis Theodosi*, "of the perennial glory of Theodosius," is not only appropriate for an imperial commemorative legend but, because of its very character, is only comprehensible in a numismatic context. What is more, this phrase would have been peculiarly appropriate on a medallion struck by Theodosius the Great.

The concept of *perennitas* seems to have held a strong attraction for this emperor. Among the equestrian statues that he put up in memory of his father, Flavius Theodosius, as *magister equitum* was one in Canosa on the base of which he himself is proclaimed as *perennis princeps* and *perpetuus Augustus*.³⁰ In the inscription on the base of the obelisk erected in the Hippodrome in 390 to celebrate his victory over Maximus and Victor, his sons, too, partake of this quality, having become his "perennial offspring."³¹ The very historians describing Theodosius' deeds, the very professors teaching in his time share in the reflected glory of his *perennitas* according to Pacatus³² and Ausonius. In fact, it was reserved for the professors of Bordeaux not only to attain glory through their achievements but, in the words of Ausonius, to attain *gloria perennis*!³³ Surely it cannot be by accident that this phrase associated with the name of Theodosius on the Budapest drawing occurs only once in the whole of Latin literature,³⁴ and that one time in the writing of a poet admired by none other than the Emperor himself, at whose specific request he issued a

27. For the former see E. Babelon, "La trouvaille de Helleville (Manche) en 1780," *Revue numismatique*, ser. IV, vol. X, 1906, p. 173, no. 9, pl. IX, fig. 9, Jules Meurice, *Numismatique constantinienne*, Paris, I-III, 1908-1912, II, pp. 366, 477f., pl. X, no. 24 (cf., too, the same legend, p. 395, pl. XII, no. 3, on an earlier medallion in honor of Crispus and Constantius II), Francesco Gnechi, *I medaglioni romani*, Milan, 1912, I, p. 17, no. 20, pl. 7, no. 4, and Toynbee, *op.cit.*, pp. 168, 181, pl. XXXIV, 1, 2; for the latter, Henry Cohen, *Description historique des monnaies frappées sous l'empire romain*, 2nd ed., 1892, VIII, p. 388, and Toynbee, *op.cit.*, p. 82 n. 79, pl. XIII, 5. Cf., too, the legend GLORIA PERPET. on small commemorative bronzes issued by the mints of Rome and Trier under Constantine, Meurice, *op.cit.*, I, 1908, pp. 214, X, 410, XI.

28. The first on the reverse of gold coins struck at Trier under Constantine II (Meurice, *op.cit.*, I, p. 139, pl. XII, no. 6), the second on the reverse of gold coins struck at Antioch by Maximinus Daza (*ibid.*, III, p. 181), the third and fourth on the bronze coinage of Licinus and Constantine (*ibid.*, II, p. 572 and Cohen, *op.cit.*, p. 377). Numerous other legends such, for example, as Aeternae memoriae, Concordiae aeternae, Concordiae Augustorum, Concordiae exercitus, Providentiae Caess, Victoriae Laet Princ Perp, listed by Cohen, *loc.cit.*, pp. 361, 370, 425, 448, may, however, be dative as well as genitive.

29. VI, 2 (*History of the Franks* by Gregory Bishop of Tours, ed. by Ernest Brehaut, New York, 1916, p. 145). For

comment on this much cited passage cf. Babelon, "La trouvaille de Helleville," pp. 187ff.; Wroth, *op.cit.*, p. 105; and Toynbee, *op.cit.*, pp. 24, 117f.

30. R. Egger, "Der erste Theodosius," *Byzantion*, V, 1929-1930, p. 27. It is interesting to note that according to Miss Toynbee (*op.cit.*, p. 178) *perpetuus* does not appear on the obverse of medallions as an imperial epithet until the time of Constantius II and Constans.

31. Gerda Bruns, *Der Obelisk und seine Basis auf dem Hippodrom zu Konstantinopel (Istanbuler Forschungen, VII)*, Istanbul, 1935, pp. 30-32, figs. 33, 34. Evidently through a typographical error, the text is incorrectly given as *omnia Theodosio cedunt subolique parenni* but the correct form *perenni* is plainly visible in the photograph, fig. 33a.

32. *Panegyricus Theodosio Augusto Dictus*, Ch. 44, Par. 4 (*XII Panegyrici latini*, ed. W. Baehrens, Leipzig, 1911, p. 128).

33. Ausonius, V, XXVI, 6. Valet, manes inclitorum rhetorum: / valet, doctores probi, / historia si quos vel poeticus stilus / forumve fecit nobiles, / medicae vel artis dogma vel Platonium / dedit perenni gloriae: (Ausonius, tr. by Hugh G. Evelyn White, *The Loeb Classical Library*, London, 1951, I, p. 138). Cf. the introduction, pp. viii ff., for biographical remarks, including a brief statement on Ausonius' relationship to Theodosius. I am indebted to my husband for knowledge of this invaluable passage.

34. *Thesaurus linguae latinae*, s.v. gloria and perennis.

new edition of his collected poems toward the year 390.³⁵ Under the circumstances, a more fitting legend for a medallion in honor of Theodosius the Great could scarcely be conceived. The peculiar appropriateness of this legend to Theodosius I coupled with the absence of any equestrian type on the coinage of his later successor of the same name rules out the otherwise conceivable alternative that the Emperor hailed in the drawing and its prototype was the long ruling Theodosius II.³⁶

If both the iconographic type of our equestrian figure and the primary inscription accompanying it appear to have been derived from a numismatic prototype, what of the singular second inscription found over the horse's rump, the letters FON (Figs. 1, 6)? Obviously, they reflect a mint mark and, like many mint marks whether on coins or medallions, it was either corrupt or illegible. The gold medallions struck from Diocletian's period on were customarily mint marked³⁷ and, as on normal coinage, these brief indications of the city in which a coin or medallion was issued were placed in the exergue on their reverse. Very frequently such abbreviated references to a given city were accompanied by an additional letter or letters further indicative of the specific *officina* where the coin or medallion had been struck. No such mint mark as FON is known; but one, and only one, ending in the letters ON is CON, one of the symbols of Constantinople, the city that issued the fourth largest number of the gold and silver medallions that have come down from late antiquity.³⁸ And occasionally, on the coins issued by this mint, the letters CON stand alone, unaccompanied by any reference to an issuing *officina*.³⁹ Precisely this simple form CON occurs, for example, on the gold and silver coinage of Theodosius the Great.⁴⁰ That not only mint marks but primary legends containing commonplace words, not to say the very name of an emperor, were at times misspelled is a long noted, if astonishing, fact.⁴¹ So numerous are the examples of bungled or barbarous Latin legends even on such exceptional commemorative pieces as Justinian's lost gold medallion,⁴² that it is entirely possible that the prototype of the Budapest drawing bore the garbled legend FON in place of the correct form CON. But another equally plausible alternative exists, namely, that the mint mark on this hypothetical medallion, in spite of having been correctly struck, was difficult to read, difficult to the point of illegibility, to the point where it was unintelligible to any save an experienced eye. If so, it would, by no means, have been unusual but have shared a defect common to innumerable worn, cracked or otherwise imperfect specimens, including gold medallions like the splendid piece in the Freer Gallery in Washington (Fig. 11), a piece sufficiently cherished by some unknown sixth century owner to have been mounted in the characteristic fashion of the day in order to serve as the pendant of a magnificent pectoral.⁴³

35. Ausonius' lifelong association with the imperial court, his gloom upon the death of his pupil Gratian at the hands of Maximus, his jubilation over Theodosius' subsequent victory over the usurper in 388 are too well known to require elaboration. Indeed, it is tempting to consider that he may himself have contrived an epigram for the dedicatory inscription of the equestrian statue erected to commemorate this major victory in which the cherished phrase occurred again, to be quoted later on a medallion reflecting that statue. But with this suggestion, we enter the inviting realm of historical speculation.

36. Cf. Sabatier, *op.cit.*, *passim*, and Hugh Goodacre, *A Handbook of the Coinage of the Byzantine Empire*, pt. 1, London, 1928, *passim*. Theoretically, a medallion bearing an equestrian type and dating from the reign of Theodosius II may be found in the future. Hence it is the special relevance of the legend to his predecessor's attitudes in conjunction with his use of such a numismatic type over a period of several years that is of particular significance.

37. Toynbee, *op.cit.*, pp. 48, 51, 53.

38. *Ibid.*, p. 54. The mint mark CON was only used otherwise by Arles, where it was invariably preceded by one of the letters P, S, T, or Q in allusion to the issuing *officina*. Cf. L. Laffranchi, "Constantina e Constantia," *Historia*, III, 1929, pp. 277-285; Pearce, *op.cit.*, pp. 308-310.

39. On gold and silver coins. For example, *ibid.*, pp. 234, nos. 84, 85; 210, no. 6.

40. Cohen, *op.cit.*, VIII, p. 160, no. 45; Pearce, *op.cit.*, p. 234, no. 85a, pl. XII, 19, and, especially, Gnecci, *op.cit.*, I, p. 81, no. 4, and pl. 36, no. 8.

41. See the obverse legend of Fig. 8: IUSTINII-ANUS and the similar mistake cited by Pearce, *op.cit.*, p. 92, note to XVI b.

42. To mention simply a few examples: DN FLIC-TOR for VIC-TOR (*ibid.*, p. 69 n. 29 b); VICTORI-A AUGUSTE, on a semi-solidus issued in Constantinople bearing the mint mark CON! (*ibid.*, p. 210, no. 6); GLOIRA for GLORIA, again, from the time of Theodosius I (*ibid.*, p. 235, no. 88a and *passim*); the incorrect mint marks cited by Madden, "On the Coins of Theodosius I and II," p. 176 n. 1; and Toynbee, *op.cit.*, pp. 100f.

43. I am indebted to Mr. A. G. Wenley, director of the Freer Gallery, for permission to illustrate this rare piece, well published and illustrated by Walter Dennison, "A Gold Treasure of the Late Roman Period from Egypt," *Studies in East Christian and Roman Art (University of Michigan Studies)*, XII, pt. II, 1918), pp. 117ff., pls. I, X, XI. Cf., too, Toynbee, *op.cit.*, p. 187 n. 263, pl. XXXVI.

For a few other random instances of gold medallions or silver coins having legends difficult to decipher (especially if

As we shall see, the Budapest drawing was executed with the aid of advice from an amateur numismatist, an antiquarian consulted, it may well be, because of the difficulty of deciphering this enigmatic word. Hence, it is probable that the letters FON reflect a misread or misinterpreted, rather than a misstruck, mint mark. But a mint mark they surely must be.

Thus no single feature of the Budapest drawing, neither its figural type nor its inscriptions, is incompatible with the suggestion that it is a remarkably faithful representation of the reverse of a lost gold medallion of Theodosius the Great. On the contrary, only such a numismatic prototype can account for the presence of its otherwise baffling and inexplicable inscriptions cast in a form entirely orthodox for a medallion but utterly inappropriate as the explanatory inscription on a colossal statue. Ringed round with the characteristic legend *Gloriae Perennis Theodosi*, the imperial horseman pranced above one of the typical mint marks of his city, a glorious image of triumphant power.⁴⁴ For the one respect in which the Renaissance draftsman has not been faithful to his model is in the placing of its legend and mint mark, a point to which we shall return. Presumably the obverse of this hypothetical medallion bore a portrait head of the Emperor unaccompanied by any descriptive legend, according to the fashion introduced under Constantine the Great for gold and silver multiples.⁴⁵ Like so many other analogous pieces, it was no doubt struck to commemorate some great occasion in the Emperor's life, thereby constituting a precious gift worthy to convey to its recipient the splendor and might of the imperial donor.

What more fitting occasion than his momentous victory over Maximus in 388, that victory celebrated by the erection of an equestrian statue near the sculptured column in the Forum Tauri commemorating earlier Danubian successes?⁴⁶ Bronze and probably silvered,⁴⁷ it portrayed the

not known from other examples), cf. *ibid.*, pl. xxxiv, 6; Pearce, *op.cit.*, p. 234, nos. 84, 85, pl. xii, nos. 18, 19.

44. The fact that in the drawing the horse's rear hooves create so marked and curving a line suggests that on the lost prototype the exergue was not set off from the remainder of the field by a horizontal bar, as is so often the case, but that the mint mark, too, was disposed in a slight curve, hence linked aesthetically with the circular form of the primary legend as, by this slight adjustment of the line of the hooves, the horse, too, would be better adapted to the circular field. If this suggestion is correct, it constitutes another minor confirmation of the fact that the immediate prototype of the Budapest horseman was not a statue.

45. Toynbee, *op.cit.*, p. 178. Cf., for example, the previously cited and characteristic gold medallion of Constantine (Gnecci, *op.cit.*, I, p. 17, no. 20, pl. 7, no. 4). The fact that the drawing preserves only the reverse of this lost gold medallion precludes the possibility of a satisfactory comparison of the Emperor's features with other representations of him. But the basic features of the drawing are compatible with the relevant heads illustrated by Richard Delbrueck, *Spätantike Kaiserporträts von Constantinus Magnus bis zum Ende des Westreiches* (Studien zur spätantiken Kunstgeschichte, VIII), Berlin, 1933, pp. 200ff., pls. 15, 94, 95, 98.

46. The primary sources referring to this equestrian monument are Georgius Cedrenus, *Historiarum Compendium*, pp. 323 B, 353 A (*Corpus scriptorium historiae byzantinae*, VI, Bonn, 1838, pt. 1, pp. 566, 618): "Οτι τὸν τοῦ ταύρου κίονα ἔστησεν ὁ μέγας Θεοδοσίος, τρόπαια καὶ μάχας ἔχοντα κατὰ Σκυθῶν καὶ βαρβάρων τοῦ αὐτοῦ. ἔχει δὲ οὗτος ἐνδοθεν καὶ ὁδὸν ἄνω φέρουσιν. καὶ ὁ κατὰ τὸ ἀμφοδὸν δὲ ἐστὼς ἱππότης αὐτὸς ἐστὶν ὁ μέγας Θεοδοσίος, χεῖρα τείνων δεξιὰν πρὸς τὴν πόλιν, καὶ δεξιὰν τὰ ἐγγεγραμμένα τῷ στύλῳ τρόπαια.

Τῷ δ' ἔπει ἐγένετο σεισμός φοβερός ἐν Κωνσταντινουπόλει, μὴν Σεπτεμβρίῳ κέ, καὶ ἔπεσον ἐκκλησίαι πολλαὶ καὶ οἰκίαι καὶ ἐμβολοὶ ἕως ἐδάφους, κατεχύσθη δὲ πλῆθος ἀνθρώπων ἀναρίθμητον. ἔπεσε δὲ καὶ ἡ σφαῖρα τοῦ ἀνδριάντος τοῦ φόρου, καὶ ἡ στήλη τοῦ μεγάλου Θεοδοσίου ἡ εἰς τὸν κίονα τοῦ ταύρου, καὶ τὰ ἔσω τεῖχη περὶ διάστημα ἱκανόν. (Cf., too, Theophanes, *Chronographia* [*ibid.*, xxxix, pp. 110, 229] A.M. 5878, 5970 and

Leo Grammaticus, *Chronographia*, p. 121 [*loc.cit.*]); Georgius Codinus, *De antiquitatibus Constantinopolitanis*, p. 24 B (*ibid.*, XIII, 1843, p. 42): "Οτι ἐν τῷ ταύρῳ στήλῃ τοῦ μεγάλου Θεοδοσίου ἵσταται. ἦν δὲ πρῶν ἀργυρᾷ. ἐνθα τοὺς ἀπὸ τῶν ἐθνῶν ἤκοντας ἐδέχετο ἐκείσε. καὶ πρῶν παλάτιον ὑπῆρχε καὶ ξενοδοχεῖον τῶν Ῥωμαίων, δηλονότι, εἰς τὸ καλούμενον Ἀλωνίτζιον. (Cf., too, the following passage of uncertain authorship quoted in the same volume, p. 186: Δέον γινώσκειν ὅτι ἡ καλουμένη ταύρος Θεοδοσίος ἐστὶν ὁ μέγας. ἐν ᾗ ποτε ἐδέχετο ὁ βασιλεὺς τοὺς ἀπὸ τῶν ἐθνῶν δυνάστας. ἀργυρεῖα δὲ τις ἦν πρῶν ὡς ὁ Σωζομενὸς διδάσκει); *Chronicon Paschale*, OI. 293, 3 (*ibid.*, IX, pt. 1, p. 565) 'Ινδ. ζ'. σ'. ις'. ὑπ. Ἀρκαδίου τὸ γ' καὶ Οὐωρίου τὸ β'.

Ἐπὶ τούτων τῶν ὑπᾶτων ἐστάθη μέγας ἀνδρίας Θεοδοσίος Αὐγούστου ἐν τῷ Θεοδοσιακῷ φόρῳ μὴν ἰωὺ καλανδαῖς αὐγούστῃς. *Patria Constantinoupolis*, II, 47 (T. Preger, *Scriptores originum Constantinopolitanarum*, II, Leipzig, 1907, p. 175): Περὶ τοῦ ταύρου. ὅτι ἐν τῷ ταύρῳ στήλῃ τοῦ μεγάλου Θεοδοσίου ἵσταται. ἦν δὲ πρῶν ἀργυρᾷ. ἐνθα τοὺς ἀπὸ τῶν ἐθνῶν ἤκοντας ἐδέχετο. ἐκείσε δὲ πρῶν, παλάτια ὑπῆρχον καὶ ξενοδοχεῖον τῶν Ῥωμαίων, δηλονότι εἰς τὸ καλούμενον Ἀλωνίτζιον. and Constantinus Rhodius, II. 219ff. (Emile Legrand, "Description des oeuvres d'art et de l'église des Saint Apôtres de Constantinople. Poème en vers iambiques par Constantin le Rhodien," *Revue des études grecques*, IX, 1896, p. 43): Καὶ τόνδε τὸν φέριστον ἱππότην μέγαν / ἐστῶτα, Θεοδοσίον ἀνδρα τὸν ξένον, / αὐτοῦ πρὸς ἀκρόβαθμον ἀμφοδὸν μέγα / αὐτὸς πάλιν ἔστησεν ἐμπνοῶν τάχα, / τοῦ πατρὸς ἄθλα καὶ πόρους τιμῶν ξένους, / ὡς ἐκ μάκης ἤκοντά πως νικηφόρον, / ὅταν καθεῖλε Μαξιμου τυραννίδα / καὶ τοὺς Σκύθας ἤλασεν ἐκ Θράκης ὅλους / οὐ τὸ φρύαγμα καὶ τὸν ἵππον ὁ βλέπων / χαλκῷ παγέντα πλαστικῆς τέχνης βίβη, / φρίττοντα χαίτην καὶ σοβοῦντα τὰς τρίχας, / καὶ τὸν χαλινὸν ἐνδακόντα τῷ θράσει, / τὸν ἀνχένα προύχον τε πύργον ὡς μέγαν / σοβαρότητι καὶ φρονάγματι ξένῳ, / ὅπλῃν ποδὸς τε προσδοκᾷ κινουμένην, / ἵππον νομίζειν χρεμετίζειν ὡς τάχα / καὶ ζῆν, φέροντα δεσπότην νικηφόρον, / τὸν ἱππότην τε γαῦρον δμμά πως φέρειν, / καὶ χεῖρα τείνειν δεξιὰν πρὸς τὴν πόλιν, / τρόπαια δεικνύουσιν ἐγγεγραμμένα / πρὸς ὅνπερ αὐτὸς ἤδρασε στύλον μέγαν, / φόνους Σκυθῶν τὲ καὶ σφαγὰς τῶν βαρβάρων.

47. Codinus and *Patria*, *ll.cc.*, as T. Reinach (*op.cit.*, pp. 77f.) has observed. Kollwitz' rejection of this testimony and

triumphant Emperor in the conventional attitude of the Kosmokrator, with one hand raised while in his other he grasped the imperial orb.⁴⁸ Once it had been erected on August 1, 394,⁴⁹ this equestrian image provided an impressive setting in which to receive foreign ambassadors⁵⁰ and long after the terrible fifth century earthquake in which the statue of Theodosius crowning the nearby commemorative column fell to destruction, it remained upright,⁵¹ its proud rider still extending his hand toward the city and seeming to draw attention to the trophies depicted on his storied column.⁵² Given the basic analogy between this amply documented equestrian monument of Theodosius the Great and the iconographic type on the reverse of his hypothetical gold medallion, it is tempting to think that the latter may have been issued to celebrate the erection in the New Rome of that famous horseman standing, like Trajan's, in the center of a forum dominated by a triumphal column.⁵³ If so, the Budapest drawing, although not a direct copy of Justinian's lost statue, is an indirect reflection of the equally lost equestrian monument of his great predecessor, a monument of the highest interest in that it anticipated and conditioned all the essential features of the Augusteum statue save for the *toupha* introduced by Justinian which replaced Theodosius' plumed diadem.⁵⁴ On the other hand, the medallion reflected in the drawing may equally possibly have been struck to commemorate either a triumph on one or another of what have aptly been termed "the imperial comings and goings"⁵⁵ rather than in allusion to a specific, however significant, monument.⁵⁶ Yet the striking of a gold medallion, even of

of Reinach's remarks (*op.cit.*, p. 8 n. 8) on the assumption that these authors have confused the equestrian statue with another silver figure of Theodosius, is not persuasive.

48. Although the statue is not explicitly described as having held an orb in one hand, the fact that it did hold this attribute must be inferred from the statements of Cedrenus, Theophanes, and Leo Grammaticus, *ll.cc.*, who all mention that the "sphere" of the statue fell in a severe earthquake variously dated within the decade 470-480 (cf. Unger, *Quellen*, p. 94).

For discussion of the implications of these gestures cf., especially, von Simson (*loc.cit.*, pp. 263, 269), L'Orange (*op.cit.*, pp. 139ff.), Kollwitz (*op.cit.*, p. 9), Paul Friedländer (*Johannes von Gaza und Paulus Silentarius*, Leipzig and Berlin, 1912, pp. 64-65), and E. H. Kantorowicz ("The 'King's Advent' and the Enigmatic Panels in the Doors of Santa Sabina," *ART BULLETIN*, XXVI, 1944, pp. 207ff.).

49. *Chronicon Paschale*, *loc.cit.*

50. Codinus, *Patria*, *ll.cc.*

51. Cedrenus, Theophanes and Leo Grammaticus, *ll.cc.* Although this statue may well have remained upright until the Latin conquest, the explicit statement to this effect by Kollwitz (*op.cit.*, p. 8) results from his assumption that the equestrian monument, variously identified by Byzantine writers as Joshua or Bellerophon (Codinus, *op.cit.*, p. 42; *Patria*, *loc.cit.*; Nicetas Choniates, *De rebus post captam urbem gestis* and *De signis Constantinopolitanis* [CSHB, XXXI, pp. 848f., ll. 13ff. and 857f.]), which also stood in the Tauros was identical with the equestrian statue of Theodosius I. This, however, was decidedly not the case since, whatever their other iconographic similarities, they differed in one important respect: the presence of a kneeling barbarian beneath one foreleg of "Joshua's" horse, a feature characteristic of a well-known but by no means identical type. The same mistaken assumption appears in Schneider (*op.cit.*, p. 19) and von Simson (*op.cit.*, pp. 269ff.) in spite of the fact that T. Reinach (*op.cit.*, p. 77 n. 2) had already correctly differentiated these statues.

52. Cedrenus, Constantinus Rhodius, *ll.cc.* As T. Reinach (*op.cit.*, pp. 77f.) long ago pointed out, this gesture, coupled with Cedrenus' phrase *κατὰ τὸ ἀμφοδόν*, is more than sufficient to prove that Theodosius' equestrian monument stood in the Forum below the column and is to be differentiated from his portrait statue standing on top of that column. The sources cited in note 51 confirm this fact. It is the more surprising that

Unger (*Quellen*, p. 172, and "Ueber die vier Kolossal-Säulen in Constantinopel," pp. 110, 118) confused these explicit statements and concluded that the column of Theodosius was surmounted by the equestrian monument of the Tauros, a confusion still implicit in the statements of Gurlitt (*Antike Denkmalsäulen*, p. 8, and *Die Baukunst Konstantinopels*, p. 17) in spite of his conviction that the column could not actually have supported an equestrian figure, in the remarks of L'Orange (*op.cit.*, p. 145), and of Libertini (*op.cit.*, p. 381 n. 3), who has transposed this monument to a nonexistent column of Theodosius II! Fortunately, Schneider (*op.cit.*, p. 19), Kollwitz (*op.cit.*, p. 4), and Janin (*op.cit.*, p. 69), have upheld Reinach's correct interpretation. It may be useful to remark here that Unger's text (*Quellen*, p. 252), has added to the confusion by translating Codinus, *op.cit.*, p. 38, as referring to still another equestrian statue of Theodosius the Great in another part of the city, whereas the Greek text explicitly refers to Θεοδοσίῳ τοῦ μικροῦ.

53. Schneider (*op.cit.*, p. 21 n. 13) and Kollwitz (*op.cit.*, pp. 7f.) have pointed out this emulation of the Trajanic scheme. Cf., too, Sextus Aurelius Victor, *Epitome de Caesaribus* (ed. Teubner, Leipzig, 1911), 48, 1, 8.

54. As we have seen, this difference in headgear between the two riders constitutes the primary iconographic feature setting one apart from the other. Regarding this point, cf., too, note 83.

55. Toynbee, *op.cit.*, pp. 103ff.

56. Cf. Miss Toynbee's remarks and examples (*ibid.*, pp. 20, 75f., 96, 100ff., 223) in reference to gold as well as to bronze medallions. As is well-known, commemorative coins and medallions were at times issued considerably before or after the event celebrated. This point should possibly be kept in mind in connection with the previously mentioned small bronze coins having as their reverse type an equestrian figure and that most general of legends, *Gloria Romanorum*, issued by Theodosius and his sons from May 15, 392, till January 17, 395 (above, p. 44). Conceivably they, too, allude in a loose fashion to the Emperor's equestrian statue in the Tauros and to the great victory it commemorated. Pearce's implied view (*op.cit.*, p. xxxii), that these coins refer to the elevation of Honorius to the rank of Augustus in January, 393, is not convincing given the extent of time during which they were issued, their legend, and the fact that they were struck by all three

a unique piece, in celebration of a great occasion or of the erection of a commemorative monument is sufficiently attested as an imperial practice to warrant the proposal that the horseman of the Budapest drawing may preserve the appearance both of a lost gold medallion of Theodosius the Great and, via it, of his equestrian monument in the Tauros.⁵⁷

Whatever the historical circumstances underlying the minting of this precious medallion, those attendant upon its having fallen into the hands of two noted Quattrocento personalities are highly evocative. For the very last folio of the Budapest codex, 145v, the page following the drawing of the medallion, bears the signature: *Johannes Darius scripsit atramento nimphirii per ipsum Kiriaco Aconitano ad scribendum adducto*.⁵⁸ Freely translated, this statement, "Johannes Darius wrote [this] with the ink of Nimphirius and with the advice of Cyriacus of Ancona," implies that the lettering on the drawing was written by Johannes Darius with the aid of Cyriacus but that the drawing itself was the work of another hand, presumably of the same Nimphirius whose ink was borrowed for the lettering of the inscriptions.

Before pursuing the implications of this statement further, it may be well to consider the identity of the persons whose names are linked in it. Of Nimphirius nothing whatever is known; indeed, his name is the only word of doubtful legibility in the signature.⁵⁹ Nor is it of prime significance in the present context, since clearly someone other than Johannes Darius executed the drawing that he subsequently labeled or the word *scripsit* would not have been used. This Johannes Darius, as has long been recognized, was none other than the eminent Venetian statesman, Giovanni Dario, a man so skilled in diplomacy and so familiar with the Turkish court that he was entrusted with the difficult task of negotiating the treaty of peace concluded with Mehmed on January 26, 1479.⁶⁰ His preparation for this role appears to have begun long earlier when, as a young man, he formed part of the entourage of Bartolomeo Marcello, Venetian ambassador to the Sultan immediately after the Conquest in the years 1454 to 1456. And it must have been during this period that Giovanni Dario was thrown with the third person mentioned in the inscription, the celebrated merchant-humanist Cyriacus of Ancona. During the last years of his extraordinary life, this remarkable man, friend of scholars, princes and popes, welcome visitor at both the Palaeologue and Ottoman courts, seems to have occupied a special position as Mehmed's cultural mentor,⁶¹ a singular role for an impassioned Christian humanist unless we are to read into

of the imperial rulers. (Curiously enough, Kollwitz, *op.cit.*, p. 9, does not refer to Theodosius in his list of emperors who issued coins having an equestrian type.)

57. Actually it has been suggested not only that the equestrian monument praised in *Anthologia Palatina*, xvi, 65 (Paton, *op.cit.*, p. 194) was Theodosius' statue in the Tauros (Unger, *Quellen*, p. 172, and "Ueber die vier Kolossal-Säulen," p. 119), but also that this poem was its dedicatory inscription (Schneider, *op.cit.*, p. 85; Kollwitz, *op.cit.*, p. 8; Janin, *op.cit.*, p. 69). But the poem is clearly a typical literary description of a work of art and quite inconceivable as the dedicatory inscription of an imperial monument. Whether it alludes to the Tauros statue cannot be established since its generalized language contains no reference to specific features, such as the gestures of the figure, that would allow it to be identified, while the term *κεκορυθμένος* could be used for either a crested cuirass or a feathered crown.

58. The text cited here, preceded by the formula IHS, is the reading of Jacobs (*op.cit.*, p. 200), a reading made from a photograph of the original. He considered it certain save for the word *nimphirii*. The text originally published by Dethier, "Ο ἐν Κωνσταντινουπόλει . . . Σύλλογος," p. 103, *Johannes Darius scripsit atramento, Nimphirius pinxit; Kyriaco Aconitano ad scribendum adducto* (and repeated and reproduced, still with minor divergences and incorrectnesses of spelling, as Aconitano for Aconitano in "Augusteon," p. 9) explicitly defined Nimphirius as the draftsman as did Mordtmann's truncated version of Dethier's text (*op.cit.*, p. 472),

in which all trace of Johannes Darius has vanished, thanks to the omission of the four words preceding *Nimphirius*. T. Reinach (*op.cit.*, p. 83 n. 2) retained Dethier's full text (with the minor presumed correction "Ciriaco A[n]conitano"), making the additional suggestion that Johannes Darius was the copyist of the manuscript. Later writers, with the exception of Kollwitz (*op.cit.*, p. 12, where *scripsit* has become *scripset*), have contented themselves with paraphrasing either Dethier's or Jacobs' text. Jacobs' statement, "Cyriacus von Ancona und Mehmed II," *loc.cit.*, pp. 200f. (followed by Rodenwaldt, *op.cit.*, col. 331, and Downey, *Procopius*, p. 395, and "Justinian as Achilles," *loc.cit.*, p. 69), that the drawing was made "auf Veranlassung des Cyriacus," is contrary to the explicit testimony of the text.

59. According to Jacobs, *loc.cit.* Previously, no one doubted that Nimphirius or Nymphirius had executed the drawing given Dethier's reading *pinxit*.

60. Johannes Darius' identity with the Venetian secretary of state was tentatively proposed by T. Reinach (*loc.cit.*, p. 83 n. 2). For Giovanni Dario's activity as a Venetian diplomat see Babinger, *Maometto*, pp. 175f., 546, 549ff.

61. This facet of Cyriacus' many-sided personality has been explored in particular by Emil Jacobs and Franz Babinger. I am greatly indebted to Professor Babinger for having brought to my attention his edition of Jacobs' previously unpublished and long earlier lecture "Mehmed II, der Eroberer, seine Beziehungen zur Renaissance und seine Büchersammlung" in *Oriens*, II, 1949, pp. 6-30, in which Cyriacus'

it the fervor of a missionary dedicated to the cultural conversion of the youthful Conqueror as an act of vital importance for the preservation of the classical heritage of the West. Whatever his motivation, Cyriacus is known to have been intimately associated with the Sultan and a member of his household in 1454,⁶² the very year, at the latest, when Giovanni Dario appeared in that same circle. In fact, the drawing must have been executed in that year since, shortly afterward, Cyriacus seems to have abandoned his post as secretary to the Sultan and returned to his native land, where he is reported to have died at Cremona in 1455.⁶³

Why was it necessary for Dario to consult Cyriacus in labeling this drawing—*Kiriaco Aconitano ad scribendum adducto*? Presumably because of his difficulty in deciphering and interpreting the enigmatic mint mark on the medallion. Even a cultivated Italian of the mid-fifteenth century might well have been baffled by those letters, especially if they were either worn or misstruck. He could have turned to no more obvious source for advice in the solution of this numismatic problem than his distinguished countryman who had himself collected Greek and Roman coins for decades⁶⁴ and was a unique connoisseur of inscriptions. One wonders whether Cyriacus' well-known zeal for interpreting the monuments that came to his attention led him to misread CON as FON, because as FON it might be construed as an abbreviation of FONS and thus linked with the remaining words of the legend to form a single, unified text: FON (S) GLORIAE PERENNIS THEODOSI.⁶⁵ If so, the curious rearrangement of the words of the originally circular numismatic legend found in the drawing could be explained not solely as the result of lack of sufficient space to place them properly on the crowded page (which actually is occupied from margin to margin) but also as the reflection of an interpretation whereby the legend gained clarity and intelligibility and the source of the Emperor's glory, the all-powerful attribute held in his left hand, received emphasis.

In any case, the signature on fol. 145v proves that the manuscript into which this sketch was entered cannot at the time have belonged to Cyriacus who, accustomed as he was to making his own drawings and transcriptions, would have needed neither a draftsman nor a scribe to record the precious medallion. It has repeatedly been stated that the Budapest drawing was made for—if not commissioned by—the Conqueror.⁶⁶ The fact that the manuscript belonged to the Seraglio library before it passed to Budapest and that the drawing has universally been interpreted as an

role as advisor to Mehmed is placed in the larger context of certain of the Sultan's cultural attitudes and connections. See, too, Jacobs' later article "Cyriacus von Ancona und Mehmed II," *loc.cit.* and Babinger, *Maometto*, pp. 60-64, 83f., 127, 137, 176, 184, 550, 624f., 684f., 729ff.

62. According to a letter addressed to the Sultan by Francesco Filelfo on March 11, 1454, in which Cyriacus was referred to as, at the time, his secretary (*γραμμαρηνς*). Cf. Jacobs, "Cyriacus von Ancona und Mehmed II," p. 201.

63. *Ibid.*, p. 202. The majority of recent writers have dated the drawing correctly in the 15th century save for those who, like Janin (*op.cit.*, p. 79) have continued to follow Dethier's original mistake of dating it in 1340 as it was perpetuated and disseminated by Mordtmann, *loc.cit.*, p. 472 (Grabar's 17th century date, *op.cit.*, pp. 46f., must be the result of a typographical error). Dethier's revised date of 1425 ("Augusteon," p. 5), accepted by T. Reinach (*op.cit.*, p. 23 n. 2), reappears in Von Simson (*op.cit.*, p. 269 n. 52).

Jacobs' essentially correct statement (Cyriacus von Ancona und Mehmed II," p. 200) that the entry on fol. 145v cannot have been made later than 1454 or the drawing earlier than 1453 should be slightly modified if Giovanni Dario's presence in the Sultan's entourage cannot be documented before the appearance there of the new Venetian *bailo*, Bartolomeo Marcello in 1454 (cf. Babinger, *Maometto*, pp. 175f.). Hence my proposed date of 1454. The vexing problem of whether Cyriacus' role as *compagno* to Mehmed began shortly before or immediately after the Conquest, i.e., of precisely how Giacomo Languschi's famous characterization of the Conqueror

and his mentor is to be evaluated chronologically, given its appearance on a sheet headed 1452-1453, and the conceivable possibility that Giovanni Dario, too, may have formed part of this entourage as early as 1450, seem not to have been resolved although Cyriacus' presence at Mehmed's side has been interpreted as already established before the Conquest. Cf., especially, Jacobs, "Cyriacus von Ancona und Mehmed II," pp. 192ff.; *idem*, "Mehmed II, der Eroberer," pp. 11ff.; and Babinger, *Maometto*, pp. 127, 175ff., 184, 550ff., 624, 731. Since the precise date of the Budapest drawing can only be derived from the association of Cyriacus and Dario, the most reliable and conservative date for it, for the time being, is 1454. Whether it was drawn in Constantinople or in Adrianople, which remained the Sultan's residence for some years (*ibid.*, pp. 164ff., 171ff., 196, 202, 206f., 212, 215, 226, 228 and, especially, 230f., 249), it is impossible to say.

64. See, for example, Erich Ziebarth, "Cyriacus von Ancona als Begründer der Inschriftenforschung," *Neue Jahrbücher für das klassische Altertum Geschichte und deutsche Literatur*, IX, 1902, p. 224.

65. Dethier, "Augusteon," p. 10, restored the inscription on the drawing as FON(S) GLORIAE PERENNIS THEODOSI (US). Cf. Karl Lehmann-Hartleben ("Cyriacus of Ancona, Aristotle, and Teiresias in Samothrace," *Hesperia*, XII, 1943, pp. 116ff., 120) for a striking example of Cyriacus' willingness to replace or supplement actual observation by conjecture.

66. Jacobs, "Mehmed II, der Eroberer," p. 17; Babinger, *Maometto*, pp. 684f.

illustration of Justinian's lost equestrian statue, a monument reputedly saved from destruction by the Sultan's order,⁶⁷ as well as the additional association with it of two prominent members of his circle have apparently provided the basis for this statement. It is a captivating idea, especially if the drawing is accepted as a representation not of Justinian but of Theodosius. For Mehmed's interest in the history of Theodosius⁶⁸ and his selection of the Forum Tauri, where that Emperor's triumphal column still remained upright, as the site of his future imperial residence would provide further evidence of the highest cogency.⁶⁹ If, in addition, we visualize this young man kindled with enthusiasm for Western coins and medals⁷⁰ holding in his hand a gold medallion of Theodosius, a medallion very possibly considered to offer explanation of the then-unknown identity of the great bronze statue near Hagia Sophia,⁷¹ and ordering his companions to copy it for him in a manuscript containing excerpts from the writings of Aristotle, Cicero, the two Senecas and Cassiodorus, passages seemingly selected to serve as moral precepts for a ruler,⁷² the thought becomes almost irresistible. So well does it accord both with Giacomo Languschi's characterization of him "ogni di se fa lezer historie romane, et da altri da uno compagno d.^o Chiriaco d'Ancona, et da uno altro Italo, da questi se fa lezer Laertio, Herodoto, Liuiio, Quinto Curtio . . ."⁷³ and with the other Greek and Latin contents of his private library.⁷⁴ Yet the manuscript may equally plausibly have belonged to Giovanni Dario or, given its dialect, to one of the many Anconitans resident in Constantinople before it entered the imperial library.⁷⁵

It must have been some such unknown owner or reader of the codex who added the final text to the drawing. For although it has hitherto gone unmentioned, a cryptic line has always been wholly or partially visible immediately above the rider's crown in the various reproductions of the page (Fig. 7). Now, thanks to Professor Franz Babinger, it has been deciphered and proves to read: *Noto q(uod) In(peratori-Imperatorì) Fr(ì)derico si(mi)lis. Noto q(uantu)m ve(re) si(mi)lis Fig(urae)*⁷⁶—a clear allusion to Frederick III, last of the emperors to be crowned in

67. Cf. notes 6 and 8 regarding the post-Conquest history of the statue. The statement that the Budapest drawing was made for the Sultan is, of course, based not only on the assumption that it reflects the lost equestrian statue in the Augusteum but also on the incorrect view that it was drawn after the statue had been removed from its lofty position by the Sultan. For comment on this position see, especially, note 8.

68. Attested by the contemporary writer Georgios Sfrantzes. Cf. Jacobs, "Mehemmed II, der Eroberer," pp. 9f.

69. Babinger, *Maometto*, pp. 177f.

70. *Ibid.*, pp. 80, 545f., 565, 577f., 747f., 794.

71. See below, p. 53.

72. According to the table of contents published by Dethier, "Augusteum," pp. 6-9.

73. Quoted by Zorzo Dolfin in his *Cronaca delle famiglie nobili di Venezia e della stessa città della sua origine sino l'anno 1478*, partially edited by Thomas, "Die Eroberung Constantinopels im Jahre 1453 aus einer venetianischen Chronik," *Sitzungsberichte der königlich bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu München*, philosophisch-philologische Classe, 1868, p. 7. The pertinent passage has been reprinted by Babinger, *Maometto*, p. 176.

74. Itemized by Jacobs, "Mehemmed II, der Eroberer," pp. 27ff.

75. It seems unwise to speculate further on this tantalizing topic until the text, dialect, and script of this Italian manuscript have been more adequately published. An expert comparison of the hands in which the various remarks made on fols. 144v and 145v are written and the script of the text of the manuscript might throw light especially on the problem mentioned in note 76. In his authoritative summary of Cyriacus' activities, De Rossi, *loc.cit.*, mistakenly reports that the manuscript is in Cyriacus' own hand. This is the source of the similar statement by Paul MacKendrick, "A Renaissance Ody-

sey, the Life of Cyriac of Ancona," *Classica et Mediaevalia*, XIII, 1952, p. 141, as the author kindly informs me.

76. In the same letter of August 14, 1957, in which Professor Babinger sent me his own transcription of this line, he also included two alternative readings, the first proposed by Dr. Luigi Lanfranchi, director of the Venetian State Archives, the second by Count Raimondo Morozzo della Rocca, to both of whom I express my gratitude for their help in the solution of this problem. 1. *Noto qualiter Friderico similis. Noto ergo in verosimili figura.* 2. *Noto qui imperatori Friderico similis. Noto ergo imperium vere simile. Figura.* Although these readings differ in detail, they concur in establishing one central fact: that the writer of the line pointed out the similarity in appearance between the figure represented in the drawing and the contemporary ruler Frederick III.

Professor Babinger is of the opinion that the handwriting of this line is not Cyriacus'. But since it is assumed that Cyriacus was present at Frederick's coronation, it is conceivable that he might have remarked on the similarity in appearance of the two imperial personages in the hearing of the unknown owner of the manuscript who, in turn, may then have entered this comment onto the drawing. Theoretically, this owner could have been Giovanni Dario; yet Professor Babinger, again, finds the long-later handwriting of Dario's testament dissimilar. The language of the note precludes Mehmed as its author, since the Sultan did not know Latin. Hence, if the manuscript was already in his possession when this note was inscribed, the writer must have been a friend of the Sultan or member of his entourage. On the other hand, if it was added before the codex passed into his library, it would provide clear proof that the drawing was not made at Mehmed's request, as has been suggested, but that he became its owner at a somewhat later time.

Rome! Was it the memory of that brilliant occasion in March 1452 that the sight of this equally imperial horseman stirred?⁷⁷ Or had the unknown writer of this "marginal note" seen Frederick at another of his ceremonial appearances along the route of his royal progress from Venice to Rome?^{77a} The answers to these questions, like the identity of the annotator and the precise date at which he penned his comment, cannot now be ascertained. But that he had seen the Emperor dressed in official regalia is obvious, since the similarity that he noted between the imperial figure in the drawing and his Quattrocento successor must have resided to as great an extent in their regalia as in their facial appearance. The analogy between their features is undeniable. A comparison of the Budapest sketch (Figs. 1, 7) with either the carved effigy on Frederick's great tomb in the choir of St. Stephen's Cathedral in Vienna⁷⁸ or the nearby painted image of the Emperor above this epitaph (Figs. 12, 13)⁷⁹ reveals a pronounced similarity between their squarish, broad-cheeked, clean-shaven faces, their long, prominent noses and emphatic brows. Still, one suspects that it was the richly symbolic regalia borne by the living emperor, the peacock-feathered crown and the golden *Reichsapfel*, of which the spectator was especially reminded when he looked at Theodosius' plumage and his orb topped by the triumph-giving Cross. For Frederick, as a successor to the Babenberger dukes of Austria, inherited the leaf crown topped by peacock feathers. Of all the crowns represented on his tomb, none is so exotic as this very one worn by the rampant lion bearing the shield of Austria at his lower left.⁸⁰ How much more memorable must it have been to one who had beheld it swaying on the imperial head!

The remarkable drawing executed by "Nimphirius" and labeled by Giovanni Dario with the aid of his friend Cyriacus must have been known to still other historical-minded *cognoscenti* than the writer of this comment, for it seems to have stimulated a far more radical—and less correct—statement: that the venerable rider still visible in the Augusteum was not Justinian but Theodosius!

By the mid-fifteenth century, the identity of the celebrated statue had become obscure. According to a mediaeval tradition reported by Arab visitors to the city and still rife, the proud horseman was the ever-legendary Constantine.⁸¹ The fact that a learned contemporary like Codinus recognized

77. Cf. the brief discussion of Frederick's reign in *The Cambridge Medieval History*, New York, 1936, VIII, pp. 136ff., 172ff.

77a. Cf. Johannes Martens, *Die letzte Kaiserkrönung in Rom 1452*, Leipzig, 1900, for an account of Frederick's princely reception and journey to Rome via Venice, Padua, Ferrara, Bologna and Florence. I am indebted to Professor Babinger for knowledge of this reference.

78. Cf., especially, Friedrich Wimmer and Ernst Klebel, *Das Grabmal Friedrichs des Dritten im Wiener Stephansdom (Österreichs Kunstdenkmäler, 1)*, Vienna, 1924, pls. 57-59 and *passim*; and, for the tomb in general, Hans Tietze, *Geschichte und Beschreibung des St. Stephansdomes in Wien (Österreichische Kunsttopographie, XXIII)*, Vienna, 1931, pp. 440-468.

79. Wimmer and Klebel, *op.cit.*, p. 31, no. 160, pl. 64 and Tietze, *op.cit.*, fig. 574. The short hair worn by the Emperor in this portrait greatly enhances his resemblance to the drawing. Cf., too, the additional portraits of Frederick III reproduced by Max Kemmerich, *Die deutschen Kaiser und Könige im Bilde*, Leipzig, 1910, pp. 52-54, especially the medallion in the Germanic Museum illustrated on p. 53. I owe my knowledge of this reference to Professor Babinger.

80. Cf., especially, Wimmer and Klebel, *op.cit.*, pl. 62. According to Dr. Bruno Thomas, director of the Wappensammlung of the Kunsthistorisches Museum in Vienna, this crown, the royal leaf crown with peacock feathers, first occurred in 1245 on a seal of Frederick II, the last of the Babenbergers, as Duke of Austria, in preparation for a kingdom of Austria that never materialized. It was assumed by his successors, the Hapsburgs, who inherited Babenberger territory. Hence, ac-

cording to Dr. Thomas, "it is very well assumable that the Emperor Frederick III possessed his own personal leaf crown with peacock feathers to be worn personally or to be carried before him on ceremonial occasions." I am greatly indebted to Dr. Thomas for his kindness in providing me with this important information and for his assistance in procuring the photographs reproduced in Figs. 12, 13. The very same crown is borne by the shieldbearers accompanying Albrecht III and Rudolf IV on the jambs of the lateral portals of St. Stephen's. For illustration of these figures see Tietze (*op.cit.*, pp. 138ff., 147ff.), and R. Ernst and E. Garger (*Die früh- und hochgotische Plastik des Stephansdoms*, Munich, 1927, pls. 60, 67, 73, 82). It is interesting to note that the crown of peacock feathers figures as the ninth among those worn by the pope in the 12th century *Libellus de caerimoniis aulae imperatoris* (P. E. Schramm, *Kaiser, Rom und Renovatio [Studien der Bibliothek Warburg, XVII]*), Leipzig-Berlin, 1929, I, p. 196, II, p. 94, and that according to a mediaeval German prescription, a sovereign's representative was required to sit on a horse and wear a crown of peacock feathers in a ceremonial entrance (cf. Von Simson, *op.cit.*, p. 276 n. 83. I have, unfortunately, not had access to F. J. Bodmann, *Rheingauische Alterthümer*, Mainz, 1819, p. 626, the source of this statement).

81. Cf. Vasiliev, "Quelques remarques sur les voyageurs du Moyen Age à Constantinople," pp. 294ff.; *idem*, "Harun-ibn-Yahya and his Description of Constantinople," p. 160 n. 57; *idem*, "Pero Tafur," p. 105; Bertrandon de la Broquiere, *loc.cit.*, and Diehl, "Un voyageur espagnol," p. 323. Hartmann Schedel, *loc.cit.*, still preserved this tradition at the very end of the century.

the figure as a Justinian but pointed out that the spot on which it stood had originally been occupied first by a statue of Constantine, later by one of Theodosius and only thirdly by the existing monument of Justinian⁸² as well as the older scholarly tradition that Justinian's statue was itself a reused earlier monument⁸³ must have created an intellectual climate in which a new equestrian document closely related in type to the debated statue was seized upon as proof of one specific interpretation. That such was, indeed, the case is proved by the earliest maps of Constantinople, those illustrating the numerous fifteenth century copies of Buondelmonti's *Liber insularum archipelagi*.

By far the larger number of these manuscripts reflect the second, somewhat abridged version of the text originally dedicated by the Florentine priest to Cardinal Giordano Orsini in 1420 and revised by him in 1422.⁸⁴ The majority of these copies of the lost original that contain a full-page illustration of Constantinople to accompany Buondelmonti's brief description of the city follow his text in identifying the equestrian monument near the Great Church as a statue of Justinian (as in Fig. 3). But in two, one in Venice (Marc. ms Lat. Cl. xiv, 45, p. 123, here Fig. 14) and one previously in the former Prussian State Library in Berlin but now in the Westdeutsche Bibliothek in Marburg (Hamilton 108, fol. 70, here Fig. 15), the horseman is labeled a bronze statue of Theodosius.⁸⁵ That this alteration of the original identification was an intentional "correction"

82. *Loc.cit.*, p. 187. Cf. Zonaras' similar statement, *loc.cit.*, that Justinian's column and statue were erected on a place previously occupied by a column topped by a silver statue of Theodosius erected by Arcadius. Janin, *op.cit.*, p. 79, explains the presence of Theodosius' name on the Budapest drawing as a reflection of this tradition.

83. Malalas, *Chronographia*, xviii, 225 (CSHB, xxxviii, p. 482): Καὶ τῷ αὐτῷ χρόνῳ ἀννέχθη ἐφίππος στήλη τοῦ βασιλέως Ἰουστινιανοῦ πλεσιον τοῦ παλατίου ἐν τῷ λεγομένῳ Ἀγνυστέων. ἦ τις στήλη ἦν Ἀρκαδίου βασιλέως, πρῶτην οὖσα ἐν τῷ Ταύρῳ ἐν βωμίσκῳ. This unique testimony has not been generally accepted. Unger ("Ueber die vier Kolossal-Säulen," p. 134), T. Reinach (*op.cit.*, p. 83), and, after earlier vacillation, Wulff (*Altchristliche und byzantinische Kunst*, p. 159) were inclined to believe it, the first because of his assumption that no such colossal statue could have been produced technically in Justinian's time, a point of view reiterated more recently by Kollwitz (*op.cit.*, pp. 14f.), who has seen in the text of the Budapest drawing corroboration of Malalas' statement. But the allusion to Theodosius in the drawing can scarcely refer to the statue of Arcadius re-used by Justinian mentioned by Malalas unless we are to assume that Arcadius re-used a statue of his father which later, its feathered crown now replaced by the newly introduced *toupha*, served as a Justinian—a sequence of events that is not impossible but for which there is no documentation. Taken by itself, Malalas' statement is of great interest. If Justinian's colossal horseman was, indeed, a re-used equestrian statue of Arcadius, it is little wonder that the Budapest drawing resembles it in so many essential respects, for Arcadius' statue evidently repeated the traditional equestrian type employed by his father and reflected in the drawing. Under such circumstances, the original headgear of the statue may well have been replaced by Justinian's much discussed *toupha*. (But Rodenwaldt's pronouncement in "Das Problem der Renaissance," *loc.cit.*, col. 331, that it is immaterial whether Justinian's statue was a re-used Arcadius or a new creation of his own time is quite incomprehensible in the context of his argument.)

84. Cf., especially, Giuseppe Gerola, *op.cit.*, pp. 249-279; Berengario Gerola, "Le etimologie dei nomi di luogo in Cristoforo Buondelmonti," *Atti del Reale Istituto Veneto di scienze, lettere ed arti*, xcii, 1932-1933, pp. 1129-1174 (and the comments in E. Jacobs' review, *Byzantinische-Neugriechische Jahrbücher*, xii, 1935-1936, pp. 148-150); Roberto Almagià, *Planisferi, carte nautiche e affini dal secolo XIV al XVII esistenti nella Biblioteca apostolica Vaticana* (Monu-

menta cartographica Vaticana, 1), Vatican City, 1944, pp. 105-117; and the older articles of E. Jacobs, "Cristoforo Buondelmonti. Ein Beitrag zur Kenntnis seines Lebens und seiner Schriften," *Beiträge zur Bücherkunde und Philologie August Wilmanns zum 25. März 1903 gewidmet*, Leipzig, 1903, pp. 313-340, and "Neues von Cristoforo Buondelmonti," *Jahrbuch des kaiserlich deutschen archäologischen Instituts*, xx, 1905, pp. 39-45, as well as G. R. L. de Sinner's edition of the Paris manuscripts, *Christoph. Bonelmonti, Florentini, Librum insularum archipelagi*, Leipzig and Berlin, 1824; Emile Legrand's edition of a Greek translation of the text, *Description des Iles de l'Archipel par Christophe Buondelmonti* (*Publications de l'École des langues orientales*, ser. iv, vol. xiv), Paris, 1897; F. W. Hasluck, "Notes on Manuscripts in the British Museum Relating to Levant Geography and Travel," *Annual of the British School at Athens*, xii, 1905-1906, pp. 196ff.; and Maria Roche Belsani, "Un codice del Buondelmonti nella Biblioteca Nazionale di Napoli," *Samnium*, vi, 1933, pp. 170-184. It may be worth noting that a richly illustrated 15th century manuscript of both the *Liber insularum archipelagi* and the *Descriptio insulae Cretae* was sold at auction in 1931 in a Hoepli sale (*Vente Ulrico Hoepli, XXI-XXII Mai, MCMXXXI*, Milan, 1931, p. 24, no. 65). I am unaware of its present whereabouts. For the Gennadius manuscript see above note 7.

Neither the two Buondelmonti manuscripts in the University Library in Padua, nos. 1605-1606, nor ms 673 in the Biblioteca Riccardiana, nor ms Gadd. 60 (Formerly Gadd. 320) in the Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana nor ms Cl. xiii, 7, in the Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale in Florence, ms 673, contain views of Constantinople, while the illustration in ms A. 219 inf. in the Biblioteca Ambrosiana in Milan is incomplete. I am indebted to the directors of these libraries for information regarding these manuscripts.

85. Marc. ms Lat. Cl. xiv, 45: *Theodosi(us) in eq(uo) ereo*; Hamilton 108: *T(h)eodosius i(n) eq(uo) ene(o)*. For the San Marco and Vatican manuscripts, see, especially, Gerola, *op.cit.*, pp. 250ff. (where the manuscript is mistakenly cited as Marciano xiv, 25 instead of 45), Almagià, *op.cit.*, pp. 105, 113ff. (where, again, Marc. xiv, 45, is consistently misquoted as 25), and Eugen Oberhummer, *Konstantinopel unter Sultan Suleiman dem Grossen*, p. 20. The former has been illustrated by Gerola (without plate number) and reproduced after a simplified drawing by Mordtmann, *op.cit.*, p. 479 (where the legend is incorrectly transcribed), C. N. Sathas, *Documents inédits relatifs à l'histoire de la Grèce au moyen âge*, iii, Paris,

rather than a lapse on the part of the copyist is proved by the carefully emended text found in the Hamilton manuscript and in two other examples, a second manuscript in Venice (Marc. ms Lat. Cl. x, 124) and an Italian translation of the original Latin text in the Vatican (Ross. 704). Since these two manuscripts both lack the accompanying illustration of Constantinople while Marc. ms Lat. Cl. xiv, 45, preserves the illustration but lacks the text, only the Hamilton manuscript today retains both the emended description and its logical, equally "corrected" illustration.⁸⁶ According to this emended statement:

Outside, thus, near the church, toward the south on the square, one sees a column seventy cubits high on the top of which is Theodosius, a bronze horseman and, holding an apple with his left hand, he makes a threatening gesture toward the east with his right. And up to the present time, opinion had it, that he was Justinian. But when order had been given to ascend to the top of this very column, it was seen to be inscribed on the man himself and on the bronze horse that he is Theodosius.⁸⁷

The source of this statement is obvious. Someone acquainted with the Budapest drawing but not with its model, acquainted, too, in all probability, with the mediaeval tradition that "there were letters written on the statue"⁸⁸ jumped to the familiar conclusion that the drawing represented the celebrated statue in the Augusteum. Given that mediaeval tradition and the current diversity of opinion regarding the rider's true identity, this unknown student of the history of Constantinople evidently seized upon the Budapest drawing as the key to the riddle and proposed the "correct" interpretation of the disputed monument, which found its way into those variations

1882, frontispiece, and Alexander Van Millingen, *Byzantine Constantinople*, London, 1899, frontispiece; the latter, too, appears in a simplified version in Mordtmann, *op.cit.*, p. 371. For comparison of certain variations in the basic text and legends regarding Justinian's statue see the charts of Giuseppe Gerola, *op.cit.*, pp. 266f.

The plan of Constantinople in Hamilton 108 has, so far as I am aware, never before been illustrated, nor has this version of Buondelmonti's lost archetype figured in discussions of the *Liber insularum archipelagi* save in Jacobs' brief reference to the manuscript, "Cristoforo Buondelmonti," pp. 319 and 335 n. 1. I am, therefore, particularly grateful to Dr. W. Gebhardt of the Westdeutsche Bibliothek in Marburg for allowing me to reproduce it here and for his great kindness in sending me photographs of the important opening pages of this manuscript discussed below. I am greatly indebted to Dr. H. Boëse, director of the Manuscript Division of the Deutsche Staatsbibliothek in Berlin for his courtesy in providing me with information regarding the original provenance of the manuscript and its present whereabouts.

Mordtmann (*op.cit.*), p. 371, reproduced what he described as "Plan de Constantinople de Buondelmonti, photographié sur l'original conservé au Vatican" and provided this plan with a list of legends supposedly transcribed from the original, including the following: "In hoc visus imp(erator) Teod(osius) equo sedens=colonne avec la statue équestre de Justinian." This information, repeated by F. W. Hasluck in his note to the frontispiece of Alexander Van Millingen, *Byzantine Churches in Constantinople*, London, 1912, implies the existence of still another example of the variant "Theodosian" version of the Buondelmonti plan. But a comparison of Mordtmann's illustration with the pertinent Vatican manuscripts makes it clear that his plan is a reduced version of the map of Constantinople found on fol. 131v of Urb. Lat. 277, the beautiful manuscript of Ptolemy's *Geographia* written in 1472, which is obviously dependent on the Buondelmonti tradition and where the actual text differs radically from Mordtmann's quotation, reading: "In hac iustinian(us) i(n) eq(u)o eneo sede(n)s. Mordtmann's mistaken reading, leading to Hasluck's incorrect citation, should be discarded. For Cod. Urb. Lat. 277 cf. Almagià, *op.cit.*, pp. 99f.; Giuseppe Gerola, *loc.cit.*, pp. 252, 266; and C. Stornajolo, *Codices Urbinales Latini*, Rome, I, 1902, pp.

253f.

86. The fact that the two Venice manuscripts cited here supplement each other, one preserving the text, the other the illustration, needs emphasis since Gerola's discussion, *op.cit.*, p. 258, implies that Marc. xiv, 45, also contains the text. I am grateful to Dr. Ferrari for having confirmed these facts for me.

87. *extra igitur ad ecclesiam ad meridiem in platea columpna LXX cubitorum alta videtur cuius in capite Theodosius eneus equester habetur et pomum cum leva tenens ad orientem cum dextra minatur et usque in hodiernum fuit opinio ut esset Iustinianus sed capto ordine ascendendi ad verticem ipsius columpnae visum est scriptum in ipso homine et equo eneo esse Theodosium.* This passage in Hamilton 108, fol. 67v, recurs in virtually identical form in Marciana x, 124, fol. 336v and in the following Italian text in Vat. Ross. 704, fol. 58r: *Et per fine allu di hodierno è stato opinione che quello que era incima de la colonna fosse Justiniano imperatore, ma con ingegno fo salito incima de quella et fo conosciuto esser Theodosio per lettere scritte et sculte nellu cauallo.* (Quoted from Almagià, *op.cit.*, p. 114 n. 3, who has discussed this manuscript, written at the end of the 15th or beginning of the 16th century, at some length, pp. 105, 113ff., and admitted that its basic text, in this case, of 1430, contains additions made by a *tardivo rimaggiatore* after the Conquest—indeed, as late as 1470. His statement that the passage quoted here must antedate the Conquest reflects the view that Justinian's monument was dismantled at that time. On the contrary, this revised statement is surely one of the numerous later additions to the text.) For comment on the relationship of specific illustrations of the *Liber insularum* to their given texts, cf. especially, Giuseppe Gerola, *loc.cit.*, *passim*, and, particularly, p. 260.

88. Robert of Clari, *loc.cit.* Cf., too, Bertrandon de la Broquière, *loc.cit.* These passages suggest that the original inscription on the base of the monument may conceivably have been made of bronze letters. Once they had been stripped from it by the Latin invaders, along with the sheathing of the column, only the holes for their attachment would have remained, holes obviously unintelligible to either visitors or their guides but nonetheless indicative of the original presence of an inscription.

on the standard Buondelmonti text and illustration that identify it as a Theodosius.⁸⁹ Justinian's proud memorial must once have borne a conventional dedicatory inscription, no doubt on its base; that such an inscription can ever have been engraved on the statue itself is inconceivable, if only because the lofty position of the horseman would have rendered it invisible and, had it existed, it could not have escaped the sharp eye of Nicephorus Gregoras, a century earlier, when he recorded the extensive repairs made to the statue under Andronicus I. Like the workmen engaged in making those repairs, this meticulous historian mounted the temporary stairway constructed around the column to facilitate their work, measured the statue limb by limb and reported his observations in a description remarkable for its detail and precision.⁹⁰ No such conspicuous feature as an inscription lettered on the bodies of both horse and horseman would have failed to attract his attentive scrutiny. But an amateur familiar with the colossal inscriptionless statue might well have drawn the excited conclusion that it portrayed Theodosius, once he had chanced to see the similar figure in the Budapest drawing identified as that emperor, especially if, as an interested amateur, he was aware that the column had been ascended and the statue repaired in the previous century and if, again as an amateur, he was unaware of the explicit testimony of early Byzantine writers. Surely the relationship between the Marburg-Venice text and the Budapest drawing is too precise to be the result of coincidence. This variant tradition in the text and illustration of Buondelmonti's description of Constantinople must have been stimulated by a critic directly or indirectly acquainted with the drawing.

In all probability, he was a Venetian. For not only does the provenance of the two Marciana manuscripts imply their Venetian origin⁹¹ but the Marburg manuscript quite certainly belonged to a Venetian. Its dedicatory page, fol. 1r, is embellished with a wreath containing the letters AV (Fig. 16), the initials of its distinguished owner, Antonio Venier, member of an eminent family long prominent in Venetian annals.⁹² His identity emerges from his generous practice of lending this evidently much sought after manuscript to numerous friends and acquaintances, the more eloquent of whom expressed their gratitude in poems addressed to him and inscribed on the opening pages of the volume. These urbane, at times flattering, lines reveal more agreeable aspects of Antonio Venier's personality than the previously known solitary fact that he served as informant against Jacopo Foscari in 1451 in the prolonged struggle over the Doge's son. Senator and jurist, active as *praetor* in his native Brescia as well as in Verona and Padua, he is praised as an orator whose humanistic tastes in literature and travel allow his fortunate friends to voyage vicariously in Aegean waters. Among these grateful readers was that far better known bibliophile, Bernardo Bembo, intimate of the greatest contemporary scholars and men of letters, including his lifelong friend and fellow-Venetian, the publisher, Aldus Manutius.⁹³ His terse lines appear among the expressions of appreciation on fol. 11v (Fig. 17), while the lengthiest and most fulsome, those of Johannes Calphurnius, are penned in a flourishing hand on fol. 1v. Calphurnius, a professional scholar born in Brescia, teacher of Greek and Latin in Venice and Padua, writer and editor of

89. As has been pointed out in note 18, both Mordtmann and T. Reinach were aware of this variant tradition in the Buondelmonti manuscripts and of its seeming reoccurrence in the Budapest drawing. Pokrovsky's statement, *loc.cit.*, that the Budapest drawing was intended for a plan of Constantinople in which both Justinian's statue and the site of Theodosius' column were indicated on the same spot, hence that the inscription refers not to the statue but to the previous column, is a variation of Mordtmann's interpretation. Cf., too, Kollwitz, *op.cit.*, p. 14 n. 10.

90. *Loc.cit.*

91. I am greatly indebted to Dr. Ferrari for the following information. MS Lat. Cl. x, 124: provenance, San Michele di Murano; MS Lat. Cl. xiv, 45: provenance, Archbishop Fontanini, an 18th century clergyman who resided in Friaul and

Rome. In Dr. Ferrari's opinion, both these manuscripts were probably written in Venice, the marginal notes in xiv, 45 suggesting, in addition, that it was actually in that city late in the 15th century. For MS Lat. Cl. x, 124, cf. Valentinelli, *op.cit.*, pp. 300ff.

92. Cf., especially, W. C. Hazlitt, *The Venetian Republic*, London, 1900, I, p. 717, II, pp. 104ff.

93. V. Cian, "Per Bernardo Bembo. Le sue relazioni coi Medici," *Giornale storico della letteratura italiana*, xxviii, 1896, pp. 348-364; *idem*, "Per Bernardo Bembo. Le relazioni letterarie, i codici e gli scritti," *ibid.*, xxxi, 1898, pp. 49-81. For Bernardo Bembo's library see, too, Pierre de Nolhac, *La bibliothèque de Fulvio Orsini (Bibliothèque de l'École des Hautes Études, fasc. 74)*, Paris, 1887, *passim*.

Latin dialogues and comedies, like other members of this cultivated circle was, thus, at home in Venetian territory.⁹⁴ Surely it must have been a Venetian acquainted with both the Budapest drawing and the colossal equestrian statue who was responsible for the modification of Buondelmonti's text and plan of Constantinople according to which the colossal figure was reidentified and some, at least, of the innumerable readers and owners of his widely read book were provided with what purported to be the most correct, up-to-date information about that conspicuous monument. Whether the unknown proponent of this mistaken theory was a member of Giovanni Dario's original Constantinopolitan circle of the 1450's or one whose familiarity with the documents dated from a later time cannot be determined. But that his theory had been launched before October 5, 1481, is evident from the occurrence of this date on fol. 11 v of the Hamilton manuscript at the end of the grateful remarks written by a Veronese reader.⁹⁵

It is equally evident that this variant of the standard Buondelmonti tradition is not to be dismissed as the work of a confused copyist.⁹⁶ The Venetian provenance or ownership of the Latin manuscripts⁹⁷ in which it occurs, the eminent and learned Venetian circles in which the Theodosian variant circulated and the probability that this intended correction stemmed from a mistaken interpretation of a drawing undeniably associated with a Venetian statesman prove, on the contrary, that it reflects the opinion of the best informed Renaissance connoisseurs of the monuments of Constantinople.⁹⁸

If the Budapest drawing was, in fact, a primary factor in the formulation of an incorrect Quattrocento theory about the identity of the imperial rider in the Augusteum, it is the more amusing that its rediscovery in the nineteenth century provoked precisely the opposite set of errors. Once correctly recognized as a reflection of an equestrian monument of Theodosius and mistakenly identified with the great horseman beside Hagia Sophia, it had fostered the misidentification of that horseman as Theodosius. Now, its own true identity ignored, it was reinterpreted as Justinian, thanks to a similar mistaken insistence upon the identity of the two riders and the correct

94. S.v. Calphurnius in Christian Gottlieb Jöcher, *Allgemeines Gelehrtenlexikon*, Leipzig, I, 1750, cols. 1579-1580. I am indebted to Professor Erwin Panofsky for knowledge of this valuable work.

95. The remarks of Agostino Capelli, presumably a member of the eminent Venetian family of that name (s.v. Capello, *Enciclopedia italiana*, VIII, Rome, 1930, cols. 833-834), on the same page are dated 1500, an indication that at least until that year Antonio Venier was alive and continuing to lend this codex to interested readers. Among the other borrowers whose names are discernible was Marco Antonio Averoldi, again, presumably a member of the well-known Brescian family.

96. Cf., for example, Wulff, "Die sieben Wunder von Byzanz," p. 318, and Giuseppe Gerola, *op.cit.*, p. 255. But note the latter's comment, pp. 260f., on the character of the additions made to the text and plan by late copyists.

97. The Italian translation, Ross, 704, has been ascribed to "un marchigiano," by Almagià, *op.cit.*, p. 114 n. 2, who points out that the latest additions to the original text of Buondelmonti in this manuscript, including reference to events of the year 1470, suggest that it dates from the late 15th or early 16th century. *Ibid.*, pp. 113ff. See above note 87.

98. Distinction should be made between the errors of mediaeval popular legend and the learned, if mistaken, theories held in better informed circles regarding the bronze rider's identity. The notion that he was the Emperor Heraclius quoted by Robert of Clari, *loc.cit.*, falls in the former category. The latter includes not only the Theodosian variant discussed above but a second, also reflected in the Buondelmonti views of the city, according to which the column supported a statue of Constantine. Cf. the references cited in note 81 and the echo of this theory preserved, for example, in another Vatican

manuscript, Chigi F. V. 110, fol. 43v, where the legend reads: *Hic Co(n)sta(n)tinus i(n) eq(u)o eret.*

I wonder whether the celebrated horseman near Hagia Sophia is not echoed still another time in the left background of Carpaccio's *Presentation of the Virgin* painted for the Scuola degli Albanesi in Venice (cf. Pompeo Molmenti—Gustav Ludwig, *The Life and Works of Vittor Carpaccio*, London, 1907, fig. 172) but now in Milan in the Brera. The bronze equestrian statue mounted on a colossal column, standing to the left of a domed structure in the vicinity of two meta-like obelisks suggestive of a hippodrome in this scene, is so strikingly similar in basic scheme and context to the representation of Justinian's monument in Buondelmonti's view of Constantinople as to suggest that one or another, probably Venetian, version of the manuscript was known to Carpaccio and the source of his juxtaposition of analogous types of monuments in spite of the fact that he has transposed them from one famous city of the East to another. For discussion of Carpaccio's quotations from views of exotic cities, for example, of Reuwich's drawings, see the summary and bibliography given by Hans Tietze and E. Tietze-Conrat, *The Drawings of the Venetian Painters in the 15th and 16th Centuries*, New York, 1944, no. 615, pp. 152f., especially the references to the statements of Colvin, Gilles de la Tourette, Fiocco, and Popham. In their investigation of the sources of this aspect of Carpaccio's art, students of Italian painting do not seem to have considered the Buondelmonti illustrations at all. Yet I suspect, again, that examination not only of the view of Constantinople in the finest, most richly illuminated copies of the *Liber archipelagi* but also of the pages illustrating other much visited places like Candia, Rhodes and Chios, to mention a few, might prove richly rewarding in connection with such problems of setting and architectural background in Venetian painting.

modern appraisal of the literary sources that assure the identification of the lost columnar statue as Justinian. If these mistaken identities have been sorted out and the Budapest drawing is accepted as a copy of a lost gold medallion of Theodosius—a medallion quite possibly commemorating the erection of an equestrian statue of that monarch, hence, given the traditionalism of official imperial portraiture, characteristically similar to Justinian's lost statue—then this comedy of errors may draw to a close.

SMITH COLLEGE



ANCIENT AND MEDIAEVAL ELEMENTS IN MANTEGNA'S *TRIAL OF ST. JAMES**

PAUL D. KNABENSHUE

I

M ANTEGNA'S highly spectacular inscenation of the *Trial of St. James before Herod Agrippa* in the Paduan Eremitani (Fig. 1) continues to strike us as impressively classical. Indeed, his performance here in particular is so convincing that we feel disposed to credit him with firsthand knowledge of categories of ancient monuments that could not have influenced European vision until classical archaeology had reached a far more advanced stage of development.¹ In an enterprising study of about fifty years ago, it was contended with some plausibility, inasmuch as the Arch of Constantine was accessible and is known to have attracted the attention of Renaissance artists, that the *Trial of St. James* was based on an Aurelian panel of the Arch with the Emperor accepting the submission of a captive Barbarian king.² A more recent study, while discounting the likelihood of a monumental Roman model for this scene and laying proper stress on the necessarily eclectic and basically numismatic nature of the artist's sources, has assumed access by the young Mantegna in Northern Italy to a very wide range of classical visual material.³ The present study aims at fixing Mantegna's point of view for his ambitious undertaking in the light of his archaeological resources, considered however beyond the limits that systematic historical thought has imposed on the field in modern times. It will accordingly go over much of this ground afresh, proceeding on the assumption that nothing should be classified as antique in immediate derivation that can be accounted for in other terms.

For this hagiographic theme of the works and passion of St. James Major, neatly condensed by Mantegna from the *Legenda Aurea*,⁴ a copious simile was accessible locally, in the Trecento fresco cycle by Altichiero and Avanzo for the Chapel of St. Felix, originally dedicated to St. James, in the Santo.⁵ Mantegna is known to have paid close attention to the work of these late Giottesque masters of the Veronese school, his precursors in spectacular wall decoration and realistic portraiture.⁶ He will, however, have found scant precedent here for his *recherché* anti-

* I take pleasure in this opportunity to thank Mr. Ernest Nash, of Fototeca di Architettura e Topografia dell'Italia Antica, Rome, for his great help to me in procuring most of the photographs used to illustrate this paper.

1. For an up-to-date comprehensive classification of the antiques that were accessible to Renaissance artists in the first half of the Quattrocento, as compared with the materials that contributed to the development of our modern visualization of classical antiquity in subsequent periods, see Richard Krautheimer, *Lorenzo Ghiberti*, Princeton, 1956, pp. 277ff. A census of antiques known to the Renaissance is currently being undertaken by New York University's Institute of Fine Arts, under the direction of Mrs. Bober.

2. Robert Eisler, "Mantegnas frühe Werke und die römische Antike," *Monatsbericht über Kunst und Kunstwissenschaft*, III, 1903, pp. 159ff. Uncritically following Bellori, Eisler mistakes the panel in question for a Trajanic monument, and its Clementia iconography for a Justitia.

3. Ilse Blum, *Andrea Mantegna und die Antike*, Leipzig, 1936. Hereinafter referred to as Blum. Cf. Anna Maria Tamasia, "Visioni dell'antichità nell'opera del Mantegna," *Atti della Ponteficia Accademia Romana di Archeologia, Rendiconti*,

XXVIII, 1955-1956, pp. 213ff., where the investigation is restricted to architecture and to ornamental adjuncts.

4. The iconography of the St. James cycle in relation to the literary source hinges on the interpretation—and attribution—of a contemporary drawing, either preliminary sketch or copy, of the Way to Execution scene. For the correct iconographical interpretation, see A. Venturi, *Storia dell'arte italiana*, Milan, 1901-1939, VII, 3, pp. 103ff., pp. 112-116, with fig. 71. Cf. the mistaken interpretation of P. Kristeller, *Andrea Mantegna*, London and New York, 1901, pp. 101f. with fig. 33. And for a discussion of the controversial attributional problem, see Hans Tietze and E. Tietze-Conrat, *Drawings of the Venetian Painters in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries*, New York, 1944, pp. 74, 84.

5. For a detailed description, see Heinrich Detzel, *Christliche Ikonographie*, Freiburg-im-Breisgau, 1894-1896, II, pp. 138ff.; and Paul Schubring, *Altichiero und seine Schule*, Leipzig (Diss.), 1898, pp. 16ff.

6. According to Girolamo Campagnola's chatty letter to Leonico Tomeo, which Vasari found so useful for his second edition, Mantegna showed great interest in some frescoes by Avanzo in Verona. These murals, which featured some incisive

quarianism: even the Petrarchan so-called Twelve-Caesars murals, which were executed between 1367 and 1379 for the Sala Virorum Illustrium of the Palazzo della Ragione in Padua, contained no genuinely classical formal features beyond a catalogue of the standard architectural monuments of Rome displayed with relative (schematic) accuracy in the scenic backgrounds.⁷ For the rest, and supposedly with the collaboration of Petrarch himself, the artists were content to reconstruct the apparatus of the Roman triumph in accordance with the prescriptions in literary sources, using mediaeval costume and armor and Giottesque pavilion stage props.⁸ This treatment of the subject reflects the early humanist's characteristic disregard of the formal aspects of classical antiquarianism, an attitude that was to be more the rule than the exception throughout the Quattrocento.⁹ From this source Mantegna can scarcely have derived material of archaeological significance other than those features of the iconographical and perspective plan of Rome that he used in the backgrounds of several of his early paintings,¹⁰ along with certain details of tribunal iconography.¹¹

Accordingly, insofar as he relied on iconographical tradition, he will have had to go further back in time, and draw on Byzantine and early Christian sources. Such indeed may well have been his main avenue of approach to a coherent world of classical forms. And in respect of the Trial scene, a more specific representational tradition even linked up with pagan secular iconography, going back beyond these antique Christian formulas for the representation of the Passion of Christ and of the martyred saints to the summary procedures of the Roman tribunals as recorded on the coins and the commemorative reliefs.¹² Herein doubtless lies the explanation of certain inequalities of archaeological consistency as between the several scenes of the Eremitani St. James cycle: whereas the Trial scene is distinguished by its antiquarian coherence, in the preceding Baptism scene (Fig. 2), whose iconographical tradition had no roots in classical antiquity and had accumulated different associations, the artist does not scruple to introduce prominent spectator figures in stylish Quattrocento dress. This consideration will justify detaching the Trial scene from its context in the cycle for separate investigation.

The locus is a paved precinct set with a pair of architectural coulisses of soberly classical design. One of these closes off the scene to the right and furnishes a background for Herod Agrippa's judgment seat. The other takes the form of a triumphal arch that defines the middle ground in a steady horizontal and screens the landscape distance. To the left, the proscenium picture frame itself establishes the architectural limits, but in such a way as to suggest spatial as well as temporal continuity behind the wall surface with the previous Baptism scene, for the figure of a guard

Scaliger portraits and a couple of fine *trionfi*, have long been known only from literary records. See Vasari-Milanesi, *Le vite*, Florence, 1878-1885, III, p. 634, cited by J. von Schlosser, "Ein veronesisches Bilderbuch und die höfische Kunst des XIV. Jahrhunderts," *Jbh. d. kunsth. Samml. des Oesterr. Kaiserhauses*, XVI, 1895, pp. 144ff., 181. For an account of Paduan antiquarianism in the 14th century, leading up to Squarcione and Mantegna in the 15th, see also *idem*, "Die ältesten Medaillen und die Antike," *ibid.*, XVIII, 1897, pp. 64ff., and XIX, 1898, pp. 352ff.

7. The original murals, lost in a 16th century fire, are supposedly reported in the pen drawings of a Petrarch codex in Darmstadt that was first published and analyzed by Schlosser in the Austrian *Jahrbuch*, XVI, 1895, *passim*. For a recent review of the scope of this document, see T. E. Mommsen, "Petrarch and the Decoration of the Sala Virorum Illustrium in Padua," *ART BULLETIN*, XXXIV, 1952, pp. 95ff.

8. Cf. Werner Weisbach, *Trionfi*, Berlin, 1919, pp. 20f.

9. This phenomenon, intensively studied and lucidly expounded by scholars of the Warburg school of thought, has recently been surveyed in its successive historical phases by Krautheimer, *Lorenzo Ghiberti*, pp. 294ff. *passim*.

10. See Eisler in *Monatsbericht über Kunst und Kunstwissenschaft*, III, 1903, *passim*. However, Eisler disregards the bearing of the iconographic and perspective plans that were featured in the seals of the early 14th century German Emperors, in a wide variety of manuscript illustrations dating from the first half of the Dugento, and on Quattrocento *cassone* fronts. For the earlier bibliography of this material, see T. E. Mommsen, *op.cit.*, pp. 110ff. Most recently, the problem of the availability to Quattrocento ateliers of topographical patterns has been elucidated by E. H. Gombrich, "Apollonio di Giovanni, A Florentine Cassone Workshop seen through the Eyes of a Humanist Poet," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, XVIII, 1955, pp. 16ff.

11. See below.

12. See the copious material in W. de Grüneisen, *Sainte Marie Antique*, Rome, 1911, pp. 310ff., assembled under the heading "Passion de St. Cyr et de Ste. Juliette: La généalogie du type et ses caractéristiques"; Richard Delbrück, *Die Consulardiptychen und verwandte Denkmäler*, Berlin and Leipzig, 1929; André Grabar, *Martyrium, Recherches sur le culte des reliques et l'art chrétien antique*, Paris, 1946, II, *Iconographie*, Ch. II, "Le martyr, thème iconographique," pp. 39ff.



1. Mantegna, *Trial of St. James before Herod Agrippa*. Padua, Ermitani (photo: Alinari)



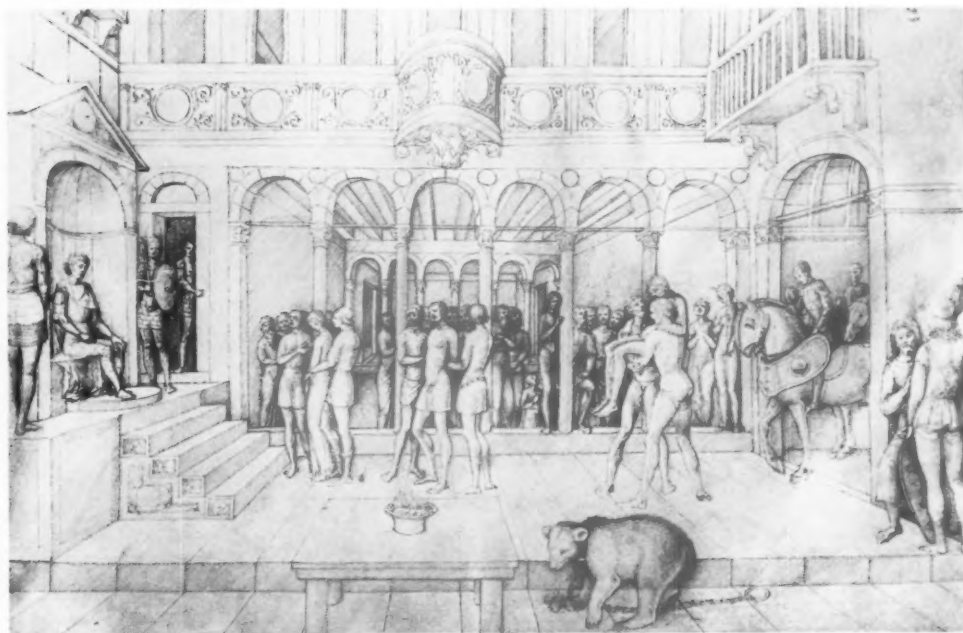
2. Mantegna, *Baptism of Hermogenes by St. James*, detail
Padua, Ermitani (photo: Alinari)



3. *Triumph of Julius Caesar*. London, Hampton Court
(Photo copyright reserved)



4. Donatello, *Madonna and Child*
Padua Santo (photo: Alinari)



5. Jacopo Bellini, *Judgment Scene*, detail. Paris, Louvre (photo: Archives Photographiques)



6. Diptych of Rufinus Probianus
Berlin, Former State Museums
(photo: Berliner Staatsbibliothek)



7. Diptych of Magnus
Paris, Cabinet des Médailles
(photo: Giraudon)

is bisected by this connecting member, and the two continuous scenes are subjected to a unified perspective organization. Similarly, whereas the action is concentrated to the right, so that the Trial scene, like the adjacent Baptism scene whose action is concentrated to the left, forms in itself a lopsided composition, yet the directional accents are none the less strengthened within either picture by the frame, while taken together the two scenes combine in a balanced unity. Thereby, the master's artfully contrived theatrical illusionism is reconciled with traditional principles of self-contained pictorial design.

This action is based on a dramatic dialogue in the purest Giottesque tradition. The Saint, flanked by guards, looks up at his judge, while presumably raising his hidden right hand in a typical declamatory gesture. Herod Agrippa, installed on an elevated and railed-off throne, is taken in the act of passing sentence of death, which he does with the laconic gesture of downward-pointing baton that is used by Judge Pascasio to condemn St. Lucy in a Paduan fresco of Avanzo's (Fig. 15).¹³ The refinements of attitude and of physiognomy tell the story in terms of expressive contrasts, and its implications are subtly reflected in the reactions of the onlookers. Again a basically Giottesque principle is applied, that of using the accessory figures to build up the dramatic situation. And the dogmatic meaning is conveyed to the initiated by means of an ingenious system of allusive symbolism,¹⁴ naturalistically disguised, this being a noted speciality of Eyckian painting, with interesting analogies in the drawings of Jacopo Bellini.

In the light of foregoing observations, it would have been perfectly consistent, both with the iconography of his theme and with his general antiquarian purpose, if Mantegna had cast about for an early Christian monumental simile for his inscenation. Without going into the potentialities of North Italian sites in this regard, or canvassing the likelihood of an early undocumented visit to Rome, we can test the hypothesis by evaluating his probable indirect sources for this category of source material. And in the sketchbooks of his father-in-law there is ample evidence of an intelligent interest taken by Jacopo Bellini in the art of the classical and classicizing past—in Roman coins, in the mosaics of San Marco, in Cosmatesque church furniture and decoration. That this interest extended also to the monuments of early Christian painting is to be inferred from a curious drawing in the Paris Sketchbook with a judgment scene of probable hagiographic import, featuring the trial of three defendants, including an elderly man and a young girl (Fig. 5).¹⁵ The likelihood of a Roman sculptural source here would appear to be excluded by the seemingly early Christian pictorial derivation of the figural composition.¹⁶ Moreover, the reliefs of tribunal audiences and executions that allusively adorn the palace of Pontius Pilate in certain of his Flagellation drawings,¹⁷ while stylistically akin to the reliefs that run along the friezes of Flavian and Trajanic arches, are likewise more probably of early Christian pictorial than pagan sculptural

13. In the course of his detailed account of the element of gesture in late antique and early Christian tribunal iconography, Grüneisen mentions the accusatory index finger of the presiding judge: *op.cit.*, p. 319. And Carl Sittl, in his intensive study of Greek and Roman gesture in literature and the visual arts, classifies the peremptory gesture without words made by rulers to intimate commands or pass dire sentence: *Die Gebärden der Griechen und Römer*, Leipzig, 1890, pp. 219ff., 302f. The motif was well established in the iconographical tradition for the representation of Passion subjects, and Mantegna (like Ghiberti before him: see below, p. 62 and note 20) will accordingly have needed no specific model from classical antiquity. This circumstance in itself demolishes Eisler's argument, generally vitiated as it is by his neglect to bring Bellori's archaeology up to date. For the revival of late antique tribunal types in fourteenth century wall painting, see Grüneisen, *op.cit.*, p. 319 n. 4.

14. This element is thoroughly and resourcefully analysed by Blum, pp. 33ff. For particulars, see below.

15. V. V. Golubew, *Les dessins de Jacopo Bellini au Louvre*

et au British Museum, Brussels, 1912, II, 92. Golubew hesitates between hagiography, Roman history, and current events for the probable source of this drawing. The action would appear to indicate a Passion of SS. Cyriacus and Juliet.

16. Early Christian or archaizing Byzantine. The compositional principle at issue is that of the "cubic group," as formulated by Hans Berstl, *Das Raumproblem in der altchristlichen Malerei*, Bonn and Leipzig, 1920, pp. 42ff. See also Miriam S. Bunim, *Space in Medieval Painting and the Fore-runners of Perspective*, New York, 1940, pp. 41ff. As for the iconographical type of an aged prisoner supported by guards and attendants, monumentalized in the Aurelian relief of the Arch of Constantine in Rome that exercised Eisler, *passim*, in connection with Mantegna, it must surely have become a stereotype in pictorial tradition. On the other hand, Jacopo must have had opportunity to study this panel at first hand, and Ghiberti is believed to have adapted it for one of his Sienese Baptistry reliefs (see below).

17. Golubew, *op.cit.*, II, 10 and II, 34.

inspiration. This opinion is stated on iconographical grounds, though the second alternative cannot be excluded categorically.¹⁸ Drawings such as these can at least have given Mantegna the general idea, and for the rest, the configuration was stereotype.

In filling out this ready-made framework, highly appropriate to his purpose, Mantegna must have proceeded systematically to build up his visualization in terms of lucid concrete detail, with reference to an eclectic and resourceful archaeological patternbook. Such procedure would have been in keeping with his manifest intention to strive for a more intensive realization of visual appearances throughout these frescoes, an iconographical counterpart to the studied plasticity here of every form in perspective space, from the statuesque figures to the sparkling naturalism of the decorative adjuncts in their illusionistically free-swinging relation to ceiling and walls and the veristic differentiation of surface textures.¹⁹ It is precisely this quality of enhanced realism that makes the essential difference between Mantegna's *Trial of St. James* and Ghiberti's *Christ before Festing Pilate* in the Florentine Baptistery Door relief or his plaque of John the Baptist Hailed before Herod on the Sienese baptismal font. In Ghiberti's delicately pictorial reliefs, some *liberalitas Augusti* in the one instance and a couple of Imperial commemorative reliefs in the other have been aptly and expressively adapted,²⁰ but on the other hand, most of the classical types are rendered, with this master-jeweler's fluency and grace, in a standard Byzantinizing combination of armor with voluminous drapery.²¹ Archaeological incongruity does inevitably occur in Mantegna's *all'antica* figurations too, but his anachronisms are not of a merely conventional nature, being incidental to his procedure of systematic synthesis, of careful research and adaptation in matters of detail, as we hope to demonstrate.

If Mantegna's point of departure for his laborious classical reconstruction here lay in the early Christian antique, it is no less apparent that he also thought in terms of a vital and popular contemporary art form. This was the Petrarchan *trionfo* pageant, and the bearing of its festive imagery will also be considered in the detailed analysis that now follows.

II

A close analysis of detail should turn up the most promising clues to Mantegna's sources, in view of the principle of heightened realism that governs his inscenation, and this, uniquely for the mid-Quattrocento, within their context of an ideally reconstructed classicism.²²

In the first place, if firsthand study of some early Christian monuments had furnished the simile, we should expect to find such knowledge reflected in the treatment of drapery. Neither in the drapery of St. James, however, nor in that of Herod Agrippa, do we find such ornamental features as *clavi*, *tablion* or figured borders that add a touch of polychromy to the more ceremonial late Roman and early Byzantine drapery styles featured in the frescoes and the mosaics.²³ That

18. The method of execution shown here, whereby the victim is dragged painfully along the ground by a horse, is frequently used in mediaeval iconography for the passions of the martyred saints. By Jacopo himself there is a fine drawing of this type in the Paris sketchbook, representing the Martyrdom of St. Isidore (Golubew, *op.cit.*, II, 45). As for the subject matter of the Ionic triumphal friezes, it was of a generally processional character (cf. P. G. Hamberg, *Studies in Roman Imperial Art*, Uppsala, 1945, pp. 129f. and note 103).

19. Mantegna's illusionistic-decorative realism in these frescoes is stressed by P. Kristeller, *Andrea Mantegna*, pp. 65ff.; and again, "Zwei decorative Gemaelde Mantegnas in der wiener Kaiserlichen Galerie," *Jbh. d. kunsth. Samml. des Oesterr. Kaiserhauses*, XXX, 1911-1912, pp. 29ff. And on the other hand, Kristeller challenges exponents of Mantegna's alleged antiquarianism to specify a single instance of direct dependence on the antique in the Eremitani murals.

20. Krautheimer, *Lorenzo Ghiberti*, pp. 340, 343, and pls. 48, 72. Note the emphasis of the menacingly downward-pointing index finger in Herod's extravagantly expressive posture. This detail in itself standardizes the Justitia iconography of Ghiberti's relief.

21. Cf. some Trecento Byzantinizing classical types, described below, on pp. 64ff.

22. By the operation of this principle, Mantegna would appear to have achieved right at the outset a personal resolution of the "polarity" tension that dominated Quattrocento art, as between the Franco-Flemish pull of a "naive realism" and the antiquarian pull of a "classicizing idealism." For a succinct outline of Aby Warburg's pregnant formulation, with references to his scattered writings on this topic, see F. Saxl, "Rinascimento dell'Antichità," *Repertorium für Kunstwissenschaft*, XLIII, 1921-1922, pp. 220ff., 236ff.

23. Joseph Wilpert, *Die römischen Mosaiken und Malereien*

Mantegna would not have found such polychromy unclassical is indicated by his treatment of armor in these frescoes, and particularly in this scene, to be considered in due course. If on the other hand he derived his knowledge of the arrangement of an early Christian hagiographic cycle through the intermediary of Jacopo Bellini, as we have been inclined to suppose, and used such material as his starting point, it is not likely that he would have been able to study drapery detail in the reduced transcription of a drawing. At any rate, Jacopo's small-figure drawing above-mentioned is schematic in this respect, and necessarily monochrome.

St. James himself is represented as a traditional Apostolic type, the treatment of which, however, shows the scope of the archaeological problem that Mantegna set himself in seeking a definitive formulation of drapery *all'antica* in his Eremitani murals. Throughout the cycle, and in contrasting positions that demanded a lucid demonstration of the drapery construction in all its aspects, the Saint is presented in the standard early Christian and Byzantine redaction of the antique philosopher type, in *tunica*, *pallium* and *soleae*²⁴—as lifted by Jacopo Bellini, conjecturally, from the mosaics of San Marco in Venice.²⁵ The drapery style of Mantegna's St. James has been compared with that of Masaccio's St. Peter in the Brancacci Chapel, and the comparison is apt, for it underlines the instinctive recourse of the progressive early Renaissance classicizing artist to a drapery formula of antique derivation, revived in modified form by Cavallini, Duccio, Giotto, that was familiar from its traditional use in the representation of biblical subjects.²⁶ But Mantegna is more enterprising than Masaccio, in that he reaches out beyond the limits of mere dependence on Giottesque tradition, or even of Bellini's interest in certain Byzantine types and formulas. Thus the drapery of his St. James, skillfully adapted also to that of some spectator figures in the Baptism scene, is further articulated, according to another antique formula that came down through Byzantine channels, among others.

This is the so-called "chartaceous" drapery that was to become a hallmark of Mantegnesque style, alike in the master's work and in that of his imitators in the several North Italian local schools. Derived in the first instance from Hellenistic *draperie mouillée*, but with a subsequent case history in Byzantine painting, in Romanesque sculpture, and in the more classicizing High Gothic sculpture of France, Germany, and Italy, it aims to accentuate *contrapposto* by promoting a contrast at once decorative and organic between passages that adhere to the underlying form and passages in which the folds are allowed to hang free. Ilse Blum draws attention to some obvious analogies in later Roman statuary and sarcophagus sculpture.²⁷ However, even if we are

der kirchlichen Bauten vom IV. bis XIII. Jahrhundert, Freiburg-im-Breisgau, 1924, I, pp. 73ff.

24. Wilpert, *Die Gewandung der Christen in den ersten Jahrhunderten* . . . , Cologne, 1898. For Byzantine adaptations, see Gabriel Millet, *Le monastère de Daphni*, Paris, 1899, pp. 119ff.

25. With Mantegna's figure, compare the figures of the Twelve Apostles in a drawing of Jacopo Bellini's London sketchbook (Golubew, *op.cit.*, I, p. 122), and the turn-of-the-12th century figure of the titular saint in the central apse of San Marco, as well as the figures of prophets in the Emanuel cupola, dating from the end of the 12th to the second third of the 13th century: illustrated in O. Demus, *Die Mosaiken von San Marco in Venedig, 1100-1300*, Vienna, 1935, figs. 1, 9-11; and in Sergio Bettini, *Mosaici antichi di San Marco a Venezia*, Bergamo, 1944, pls. I-XI. The resemblance is admittedly one of standard iconographic types, but it seems to exclude intervening Giottesque norms: see below. This indication of Jacopo Bellini's special interest in Byzantine monumental decoration is supported by that of many further and more specific analogies between his drawings and the mosaics of San Marco.

26. Blum, p. 19. With the appearance of Mantegna's St. James in the successive scenes of the Eremitani cycle, compare

that of Masaccio's St. Peter in the Carmine cycle, similarly diversified in attitude (Mary Pittaluga, *Masaccio*, Florence, 1935, figs. 27, 33, 35, 40). It is clear that the latter, in relation to the antique, stands on a level with Giotto's Joachim in the Arena Chapel Life of the Virgin cycle. In the Baptism scene (*ibid.*, fig. 33), his *pallium* is articulated by a system of indentation folds which, while plastically effective and structurally organic, are schematic and conventional in pattern, compared with the elaborate chartaceous articulation *all'antica*, in a significantly extra-Giottesque tradition, of St. James's in the corresponding Eremitani mural. Blum expressly fails to recognize this distinction.

The transition from a specifically late antique to a more or less generalized mediaeval drapery structure, at the immediately pre-Giottesque level, is apparent in details reflecting Cavallini's relation to his early Christian models in Rome (see John White, "Cavallini and the Lost Frescoes in S. Paolo," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, XIX, 1956, pp. 84ff., 89, pl. 282-b).

27. *Ibid.*, pp. 19f. On this problem, cf. also Millard Meiss, *Andrea Mantegna as Illuminator*, New York, 1957, pp. 20f., figs. 20, 21. Meiss likewise stresses the bearing of the antique, but he also suggests that Donatello's Paduan sculptures will have been a secondary influence.

prepared to assume that Mantegna had these late classical models with their wound band-like interlocking drapery folds expressly in mind, we should by no means leave out of account the derivative mediaeval mannerism, which had a long tradition in the Veneto-Byzantine side of his ancestry. Nor should we disregard the occasional and unobtrusive use of chartaceous drapery passages in the work of other Quattrocento painters, such as Andrea del Castagno and Piero della Francesca, if not quite in Masaccio's work above-mentioned. Here perhaps Joseph Meder's explanation is conclusive, for he points to the customary use by Renaissance painters of sculptors' models in which drapery indentations were made by pressing the fingertip into the gum-impregnated cloth.²⁸ In these complex circumstances, it will be appreciated that Mantegna's solution of the problem was by no means spontaneous, or handed to him directly by the antique. It was rather the product of an aptitude that amounted to artistic scholarship of a high order, with the rather expressionistic classicism of Donatello's Santo reliefs supplemented by an antiquarianism more synthetic than is commonly supposed.

As for Herod Agrippa, his is a figure confidently classical in mien and posture, perhaps with something of an affinity to the Emperor Tiberius,²⁹ and he will be repeated as a majestic type in Mantegna's representation of Julius Caesar on his triumphal float in the cartoons (Fig. 3). At the same time, lest direct recourse to a classical coin model be taken for granted, the figure of Julian the Apostate might be recalled in Simone Martini's cycle of the Legend of St. Martin in the Lower Church of San Francesco, Assisi, particularly the scene in which the Saint renounces the military life (Fig. 13). The Emperor's is the only classical type in the picture, and he has the same clean-shaven elegance as Mantegna's Herod Agrippa and Julius Caesar. Seated in laureate profile on a faldstool with footrest, he wears a classical *lorica* draped with a flowing *paludamentum*, and holds an upward-pointing baton-scepter in his right hand and an orb in his left. Analogous too is the figure of Virgil in Giotto's *Last Judgment* in the Arena Chapel, who alone among the realistically portrayed blessed is a serene classical type with moulded lips like the angels in Byzantine mosaics. So likewise is Pontius Pilate, bearded however, in the panels of the Passion in Duccio's *Maestà* (Fig. 12). And again, the trio of Virgil, his commentator Servius, and his hero Aeneas, in Simone Martini's frontispiece to Petrarch's Virgillian codex in the Ambrosiana (Fig. 14). It would be rash to assume that these early Trecento classical types stood in direct relation to the antique. Indeed, the generalized drapery used throughout, which is of the Byzantinizing type featured in Ghiberti's reliefs above-mentioned,³⁰ precludes any such relationship.

And this is precisely the measure of Mantegna's difference. A drapery analysis of his figuration proves that the classical stereotype traditional in mediaeval art has been archaeologically refreshed. Herod Agrippa is attired in the late antique tunic and *colobium* ensemble, carefully reconstructed, perhaps also with the scarf portion of the late Roman toga appended. The indications are that painstaking reference was made, albeit without complete understanding, to a fifth or sixth century Consular Diptych (Figs. 6-7).³¹ Compare the more classical draping of Caesar's

28. Joseph Meder, *Die Handzeichnung, ihre Technik und Entwicklung*, Vienna, 1923, pp. 443ff.

29. Cf. J. J. Bernoulli, *Römische Ikonographie*, Stuttgart, 1882-1894, II, 1, pp. 138ff., figs. 19ff.

30. See above, note 20.

31. Let us take as Mantegna's hypothetical model the recto of the Diptych of Rufinus Probianus (Rome, ca. 400) in Berlin, which shows the Consul in Senatorial dress (Fig. 6), and our comparison will postulate his painstaking adaptation of late antique material, the unfamiliar structure of which was doubtless partly misunderstood by the Early Renaissance artist—as it has been indeed by some modern archaeologists. The first point of similarity to note is the tight long sleeve of the tunic, the skirt of which, masked in the painting by an

overgarment, is shown to be ankle-length in the ivory—a standard *tunica talaris et manicata* of the late Empire. The second is the smock-like overgarment, with its loose puckered neck, wide elbow-length half-sleeves, and voluminous skirt. This would be the *colobium*, another article of formal wear in the transition period, and an established item of the Senator's wardrobe. The third is not so clear. It would seem that the scarf-like passage of drapery that falls in pleated folds from Herod Agrippa's right shoulder corresponds to the hanging strip of Rufinus Probianus' triumphal toga or *trabea*, which is secured over the Consul's left shoulder and falls straight to the hem of his tunic as he sits in state. However, the principal, draped part of the toga Mantegna must have omitted, according to this hypothesis. In the Diptych, we see a smooth

toga in the Triumph cartoon (Fig. 3), similar to the Emperor's in the Arch of Titus. However, the rich patterning of toga, sleeves, and hem that is often shown in the diptychs (Fig. 7) is not reproduced by Mantegna. On the other hand, the Victory type of figurine that surmounts the canopy of estate,³² and the two effeminate attendants standing behind the throne, like the personifications of Rome and Constantinople in the diptychs (Fig. 7), would tend to confirm the hypothesis of a late antique ivory model. And Herod Agrippa's cropped hair is eminently Consular (Fig. 6). At the same time, his necklace is undoubtedly to be explained as the artist's characteristically plastic rendering of the *torques major*, and the sartorially inappropriate inclusion of this insignium does indicate some eclectic study also of the standard archaeological material, such as the military tombstones.³³ Another such detail is his neckerchief or *focale*, normally worn under the lorica, and this item too could have been noted from a study of the tombstone effigies.³⁴

The architecture of the judgment seat, while in the tradition of the Consular *sella curulis* as featured in the diptychs,³⁵ has evidently been elaborated along the lines of later developments. Thus the zoomorphic supports borrowed specifically from Donatello's Madonna and Child relief for the high altar of the Santo (Fig. 4),³⁶ and by Donatello in the first place from some Roman funerary monument,³⁷ are also standard features of the Cosmati episcopal thrones and of other Cosmatesque church furniture.³⁸ The rounded back of Herod Agrippa's chair, which occurs in one or two of Jacopo Bellini's tribunal scenes, is likewise pertinent.³⁹ As for the Gothic canopy of estate,

diagonal passage of drapery winding from right arm-pit to left shoulder, and passing over the scarf. It is known as the *balteus*, of which the draping can take a wide variety of turns, and in this late form of the toga the segmental length of material is tightly folded along the straight edge for these initial convolutions. At a lower level, we see a second and expansive diagonal passage, distinguished technically as the *sinus*, which is formed by the toga after it has descended behind to come out again in front round the right hip for the last throw across the lap and up over the raised left arm. For this final stage of its draping, the *toga contabulatum* is unfolded broadly. In Mantegna's figuration, the scarf is left unsecured, and presumably it is to be understood as hanging down the back of his Herod Agrippa, as it hangs down Rufinus Probianus' back in the Diptych after passing under the *balteus*. The process is clearly demonstrated in the figure of the back-turned of the two Senators shown acclaiming the Consul in the lower panel. With regard to footwear this outfit is completed, not with *calcei*, half-boots slit at either side of the ankle and secured by thongs, as worn by Rufinus Probianus on the verso of his Diptych; nor yet with *campagi*, a form of compromise sandal closed at toes and heel and secured with diagonally crossed straps and long hanging laces, worn by the same Consul as Senator; but with *crepida*, shin-high open sandals that leave the toes uncovered and for which another and military category of model (as exemplified in some of the silver plates from Cyprus in New York) would have to be assumed.

The Diptych of Rufinus Probianus is catalogued in Delbrück, *Die Consulardiptychen*, as no. 65, on pp. 250ff., with drapery analysis on pp. 251, 253. The distinctions in footwear he classifies on pp. 33, 37f. References to earlier studies of the late antique drapery modes, transitional between the Roman and the Byzantine, can be found in his notes. Cf. also Grüneisen, *Sainte Marie Antique*, p. 316 n. 4. As for Blum on Mantegna's Herod Agrippa (p. 19), she is at a loss to recognize the late antique character of his drapery, beyond a shrewd guess at the toga feature.

32. See below, p. 66 and n. 42.

33. See A. Müller's article "Waffen," in August Baumeister, *Denkmäler des klassischen Altertums, zur Erläuterung des Lebens der Griechen und Römer in Religion, Kunst und Sitte*, Munich and Leipzig, 1885-1888, pp. 2015ff., 2062, fig. 2263. This tombstone and similar Rhenish monuments featuring the

torques are illustrated in C. V. Daremberg and E. Saglio, *Dictionnaire des antiquités grecques et romaines d'après les textes et les monuments*, Paris, 1878-1919, IV, 1, pp. 426f., figs. 5618ff.; and in Ludwig Lindenschmit, *Tracht und Bewaffnung des römischen Heeres während der Kaiserzeit*, Brunswick, 1882, pl. 1. Cf. also Mary G. Houston, *Ancient Greek, Roman and Byzantine Costume and Decoration*, 2nd ed., London, 1947, fig. 117.

34. Baumeister, *Denkmäler*, p. 2051 and fig. 2264.

35. For the transformations of the magisterial chair in late antique and early Christian tribunal iconography, see Grüneisen, *op.cit.*, pp. 316ff. with p. 319 n. 1. And cf. Delbrück, *op.cit.*, pp. 63f.

36. Blum, p. 35. This feature may also have been copied by Agostino di Duccio for his relief (of disputed attribution) in New York of Christ Taking Leave of His Mother, though in this case an attic relief model has been postulated (Corrado Ricci, *Il Tempio Malatestiano*, Rome and Milan, 1925, p. 117, figs. 150, 151).

37. Cf., e.g., W. Altmann, *Die römischen Grabaltäre der Kaiserzeit*, Berlin, 1905, no. 46, p. 83. Of unquestionably direct antique inspiration is the use of the sphinx motif in Florentine Quattrocento sepulchral sculpture, as in Desiderio da Settignano's monument of Carlo Marsuppini in Santa Croce (cf. the reproduction of this detail in Sir S. Colvin, *A Florentine Picture-Chronicle*, London, 1898, fig. 96). A well-known example of the use of sphinxes in the field of engraved gems is the cameo in Vienna with Augustus and Roma enthroned on a *bisellium* supported by a pair of elegant sphinxes that are, however, collarless: see A. Furtwängler, *Die antiken Gemmen, Geschichte der Steinschneidekunst im klassischen Altertum*, Leipzig, 1900, III, p. 315, fig. 158.

38. See the illustrations in Edward Hutton, *The Cosmati, The Roman Marble Workers of the XII and XIII Centuries*, London, 1950. Actually, the Cosmati throne was typically supported by lions, as was the Consular *sella curulis* in the diptychs (Fig. 7): see Delbrück's description of this feature, *op.cit.*, p. 63.

39. Cf., e.g., the thrones in the cathedral of Anagni and in Santa Balbina, Rome (both of them extensively restored), and in SS. Nerone and Achilleo, Rome (Hutton, *op.cit.*, pls. 27, 28a, 28b). The judgment seat of Solomon in a drawing of Jacopo Bellini's London sketchbook (Golubew, *op.cit.*, I, 54), would appear to be based on this Cosmatesque type of throne

this feature places the whole elaborate configuration, along with the Virgin's throne in Giovanni Bellini's *Allegory of the Souls in Purgatory* in the Uffizi and the Poet's throne in the Giorgionesque *Homage to a Poet* in London, in a category that is obviously derived from the *trionfo* iconography of picture-chronicle and *cassone* pageantry.⁴⁰

The formal system of incorporating emblematic adornments in this design might likewise be related to the iconographical category of military triumph imagery and its Petrarchan derivatives (Figs. 17, 18). Indeed, we have only to translate Herod Agrippa back into some personification or planetary divinity, the sphinx arm-rests of his throne into the emblematic animals that draw the triumphal float, and the figurine of Ares that surmounts his canopy of estate into a Victory or the Dieu d'Amour, to visualize the romantic arrangement that Mantegna may have had in mind.⁴¹

The last-named feature of the apparatus is the only one that may have occasioned direct or indirect reference to the antique. And at that, it is a question of giving a classicizing Byzantine pictorial type the general semblance of a Roman coin-type, and adding attributes appropriate to the theme. Briefly draped and girlishly youthful in some Hellenic tradition, it stands poised on a globe and keeps the orb and scepter of temporal dominion. But though conceivably suggested by the Victory feature on a Consular Diptych,⁴² in its crowning position and symbolical meaning this perhaps incongruously graceful emblem of physical force is thoroughly mediaeval. The framework of allegorical reference here is presumably astrological, and accordingly, the allusion would be to Ares-Mars, commonly represented beardless and bareheaded in the Graeco-Byzantine tradition, under whose auspices it is that scenes of violence and injustice are enacted in the iconography of the Seven Planets and their Children (Fig. 18).⁴³ A further purport would be

architecture. So likewise would its counterpart in Mantegna's late decorative grisaille in Paris, comparable to that of Vassellettus for the episcopal throne at Anagni, *passim*: see E. Tietze-Conrat, *Mantegna: Paintings, Drawings, Engravings*, London, 1955, p. 194, pl. 129, who ascribes to the shop after the master's design. In this picture, Solomon's otherwise Cosmatesque-looking throne is supported, not by sphinxes or lions, but by dolphins, a favorite ornamental device of Renaissance furniture design and its pictorial representation (cf. the many instances in Colvin, *op.cit.*).

40. As Weisbach remarks (*Trionfi*, pp. 24ff., figs. 4-8), those decorative representations of the triumphs of Caesar, of Scipio Africanus, of Darius, with their parade of fashionable costume, their carnival floats, their identifiable emblematic devices, which he dates ca. 1460 and earlier, must have been suggested by actual pageants similar to the triumphs of Julius Caesar, Pompey, Octavian and Trajan, which were staged by Lorenzo Magnifico later in the century. Cf. A. Warburg on the drawings of the Florentine Picture-Chronicle (*Gesammelte Schriften*, Leipzig, 1932, pp. 69ff.). In the imagery of this *Gelegenheitskunst* or *Ausstattungskunst* (phraseology of Warburg, *op.cit.*, pp. 113, 187f.), festively adapted to the *mise-en-scène* of a literary tradition (cf. Weisbach, "Petrarca und die bildende Kunst," *Repertorium für Kunstwissenschaft*, xxvi, 1895, pp. 265ff.), the triumphal float is commonly, though not invariably, equipped with an ornamental canopy of estate, and the derivative categories of Triumph, whether legendary, biblical, mythological, or Petrarchan-allegorical (*idem*, *op.cit.*, and *Trionfi*, pp. 76ff.) use the same properties (Fig. 17).

41. Consider, for example, the Planets series of early Florentine engravings in the British Museum, datable between 1460 and 1470. In each print, the triumphal representation of the presiding divinity is shown in the heavens, above a display of the appropriate activities of the planet's children. Mars has been selected for reproduction in our Fig. 18 on iconographic grounds (see below, with note 43), though for the immediate formal purpose Sol, Venus, and Mercury are more particularly comparable (cf. A. M. Hind, *Early Italian Engraving*, A

Critical Catalogue, London, 1938, pls. 120, 122, 124). And cf. the monumental fresco cycle at Schifanoia, analyzed and illustrated by A. Warburg, "Italienische Kunst und internationale Astrologie in Palazzo Schifanoia zu Ferrara," *op.cit.*, pp. 459ff. For the *all'antica* iconography of the Florentine Planets engravings, see *idem*, "The Literary Sources of the 'Finiguerra Planets,'" *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 11, 1938, pp. 72ff. Warburg stresses the new feeling for classical style in these prints, whereby the material derived from Vincent de Beauvais and first visualized by the northern ateliers in late Gothic courtly terms, is systematically translated into the language of the Italian humanists.

42. One of the standard Consular attributes is the statuette of Victory that often stands at the corners of the seat of the *sella curulis* holding the Consul's shield with both hands over her head (Fig. 7). Alternatively, the Consul may hold the Victoriola in his hand (cf. Fig. 8), in a tradition that goes back with the rest of this aulic apparatus to the Olympian enthroned Jupiter of Pheidias, as an alternative to the *mappa*. Cf. Delbrück, *op.cit.*, p. 63 and pls. 1, 2, 10, 22.

43. This identification is suggested, with reference to analogies but with incomplete iconographical explanation, by Blum, p. 34. In an earlier connection (see above, notes 17, 18), reference was made to a drawing of Jacopo Bellini's with a martyrdom subject. The landscape background of this scene of cruel execution contains the motif of a nude statue with lance and shield set up on a tall column above a gallows that is occupied by two gibbeted corpses. The aspect of the cult-image is youthful and comely, stylistically refreshed, it would seem, from study of the Roman coin-types, but presumably descended in a Byzantine pictorial tradition for illustrating themes of idolatry. Cf., e.g., the representation of the statue of the Delphian Apollo in a Byzantine mythological miniature of the 11th century, reproduced in K. Weitzmann, *Greek Mythology in Byzantine Art (Studies in Manuscript Illumination)*, 4), Princeton, 1951, fig. 78. An analogous judicial and astrological context for a keynoting image of Mars occurs in one of the drawings of Giovanni Marcanova's *Antiquitates*, for

to echo the antithetical allusion to temporal authority in distinction to the Kingdom of Heaven that is implicit in the compositionally predominant triumphal arch.⁴⁴ Another such sinister allusion is made by the owl that hovers naturalistically above the "diaphragm" garland, for this is not Minerva's attribute, the symbol of wisdom, but rather the ill-omened bird of mediaeval tradition.⁴⁵ In the same spirit, the (collared) sphinx supports of the judgment seat are not to be understood as embodiments of divine power and foresight, like their remote archetypes on the throne of the Olympian Jupiter of Pheidias⁴⁶ and their immediate models that support the Sedes Sapientiae in Donatello's sculpture (Fig. 4),⁴⁷ but as the equivocal props of Herod Agrippa's throne of unrighteousness. However, this ambivalence of the sphinx is documented in antique as well as in Renaissance art and thought.⁴⁸

Clearer instances of Mantegna's systematic adaptation here of genuine archaeological items to the symbolical purposes of Christian iconography occur in some other ornamental accessories of his setting. Thus the sacrifice relief that adorns the arch, and alludes to the spiritual significance of the action below, according to a principle of cryptic symbolical allusion with analogies in Eyckian painting⁴⁹ and precedent in Romanesque sculpture,⁵⁰ have been adapted from a Roman sepulchral relief.⁵¹ Such adaptation of scenes of pagan sacrifice to underline the meaning of Christian themes of salvation was to become a speciality of the Mantegnesque aftermath in North Italian Renaissance painting and relief-sculpture, attaining there a culmination of visual refinement and intellectual subtlety.⁵² As for the two medallion Emperor-heads, whose antithetical typification here of the "good" and proto-Christian, and of the "bad" and rankly heathen, emperor in the persons of Augustus and Nero respectively has been aptly suggested by Ilse Blum,⁵³ and the fragmentary inscription below them, these items were taken from an antique slab, since lost, from a site in the vicinity.⁵⁴ The inscription was first copied by the diligent epigraphist Giovanni Marcanova,⁵⁵ and is introduced here by Mantegna with no apparent relevance beyond that of antiquarian local color.

The entire architectural setting of the Trial scene is impeccably antique, but here again a careful synthesis of appropriate source material is more probable than the use of a unified model. The alfresco suburban location would correspond to late antique tribunal practice as recorded on early Christian monuments, with the relative elaboration reflecting a fifth century modification of the apparatus.⁵⁶ Alternatively, as in the Diptych of Rufinus Probianus (Fig. 6), which we have used as an example of the type of ivory from which Mantegna may have derived other features of his representation, the audience could be staged indoors, in a basilica.⁵⁷ But he may have used a Roman monument of more classical date, some relief with a *congiarium* or *liberalitas Augusti*,

the rest, evidently based on Mantegna's *Eremitani Martyrdom of St. James* (see the bibliographical reference in notes 88f. below). Here, however, the crouching figure of Mars, bearded and helmeted, is clearly adapted from a Roman coin-type (see the same bibliographical reference), though with omission of the typical military attributes.

44. Blum, *loc.cit.*

45. *Ibid.* Actually, the owl perched in a tree (olive) was a standard image of the antique sepulchral repertory (cf. Altmann, *Grabaltäre*, p. 262).

46. J. Overbeck, *Griechische Kunstmythologie*, Leipzig, 1871, II, *Besonderes Theil* I, 1, pp. 36ff.

47. See above, note 36. The sphinx was to become a standard emblem for the Virgin's throne in Venetian Renaissance painting, corresponding to the Lion of Solomon in the Eyckian Flemish.

48. Blum, pp. 35f. For a fundamental and detailed study, see Arthur Milchhöfer, "Sphinx," *Athenische Mittheilungen*, IV, 1879, pp. 45ff.

49. See E. Panofsky, *Early Netherlandish Painting, its Origins and Character*, Cambridge (Massachusetts), 1953, pp.

131ff.

50. See Jean Adhémar, *Influences antiques dans l'art du moyen âge français*, London, 1939, pp. 177ff., on the Romanesque sculptors' practice of adapting or copying pagan sacrifice scenes from the Gallo-Roman reliefs, to be juxtaposed for purposes of supporting allusion in representations of the Christian sacrifice theme of the Last Supper.

51. Cf. the Lares altars discussed by Altmann, *Grabaltäre*, pp. 174ff., and pp. 235ff. To Blum is due the credit for discerning the symbolical-allusive meaning of this "relief" (*op.cit.*, p. 34), but her archaeology in this respect (*ibid.*, pp. 12f.) is wanting.

52. See F. Saxl, "Pagan Sacrifice in the Italian Renaissance," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, II, 1938-1939, pp. 346ff.

53. *Op.cit.*, pp. 13, 34f.

54. A. Venturi, *Storia dell'arte italiana*, VII, 1, p. 328 n. 1.

55. *Loc.cit.*

56. Grüneisen, *Sainte Marie Antique*, p. 316 n. 3.

57. Grüneisen, *loc.cit.*

in which similar elements of background architecture were to be found compendiously featured, and such as Ghiberti apparently adapted for his relief of Christ before Pilate.⁵⁸ This relief of Ghiberti's happens to feature both a triumphal arch and a paneled building similar to the architectural screen behind Herod Agrippa's throne in Mantegna's fresco. The well-known Sacchetti relief with a *congiarium* or *liberalitas* of Severus has an architectural background composed of similar and likewise diagonally overlapping elements, and the Emperor's chair too is raised on a platform (Fig. 11). Some such relief could have been copied and circulated by Ciriaco d'Ancona, Donatello, Pisanello, or Jacopo Bellini, insofar as it was not accessible locally.

As for the mediaeval fortress in the landscape background, it is all of a piece with the other features—formation flights of birds, atmospheric sky, meticulously planted hillsides. The formula was stereotype in monumental painting as in book illustration, sacred and profane. And inasmuch as the castellated palace was an established feature of the earlier iconographic and perspective plans of Rome, whose tradition proved quite enduring, no incongruity would have been felt by the most conscientious antiquarian in adapting it to this context for a supplementary image of pagan tyranny. In any case, the minute deep-background scale here precluded a clear rendering of the archaeological ruin-littered hillside that no less aptly marks the middle ground in the ensuing Martyrdom scene.

For the arch itself monumental models have been proposed, such as the Arch of Titus in Rome⁵⁹ and the Arch of the Gavi in Verona.⁶⁰ Actually, it is more probable that Mantegna referred to the representation of a triumphal arch or similar structure on the reverse of some Roman coin, where-with to elaborate the rudimentary relief type, this other being a category of classical reference material that he was later to adapt, and with powerfully monumental effect, in his *Triumph of Caesar*. For example, a comparable design occurs on a large Trajanic bronze medal, in Paris and in London, figuring a votive-arch type of structure which is taken to represent the entrance-arch or propylon of the Forum Traiani (Fig. 9),⁶¹ and Mantegna could have adapted such features as the lofty attic, which typically supports a crowning array of triumphal statuary, of a kind that he later introduces into the scenic background of his Triumph cartoons; the medallion portrait busts, which in the coin-type are placed immediately under the entablature, one to each intercolumniation; the tight-fitting relation of the arch proper to the two central columns. As a more radical simplification, he can also have curtailed the original hexastyle and eliminated the customary plinth. And he will have substituted for the original Corinthian an equally appropriate Composite order. As for the spandrel and keystone Victories of Mantegna's design, they were standard features, included in the coin-types, of the triumphal arch (Fig. 10).⁶²

The rich "period" character of Mantegna's setting also owes much to the accoutrements of his military supernumeraries. Their armor consists of a corselet or *lorica*, of beaten metal or of leather, closely molded to the form so as to suggest the organic articulation of a developed muscular torso. This corselet is fringed at shoulders and waist with protective and ornamental series of thongs and scallops which depend in overlapping flounces over the short sleeves and knee-length skirt of the tunic; and it will be noted that Mantegna tends to treat as an overtunic, after the fashion of the Imperial portrait statues, the (correctly articulated) enveloping apron of leather thongs in its relation to the tunic proper, whose skirt does not normally show. It is girded with *cinctorium* (belt) and sometimes with *balteus* (baldric).⁶³ The standard footwear is the *crepida*, shin-high open-toed sandals.

58. Krautheimer, *Lorenzo Ghiberti*, p. 340, pl. 48, *passim*.

59. R. Eisler in *Monatsbericht über Kunst und Kunstwissenschaft*, III, 1903, *passim*, p. 169.

60. Blum, pp. 7f.

61. T. L. Donaldson, *Architectura Numismatica, or Architectural Medals of Classical Antiquity*, London, 1859, no. 67

(the description on pp. 250ff., mistakenly placed under no. LXVI).

62. *Ibid.*, pp. 222f. An example is the triumphal arch of Nero in Rome, as rendered on a bronze medal of the British Museum: no. 56 in Donaldson's corpus.

63. Cf. Daremberg-Saglio, *Dictionnaire*, III, 2, pp. 1302ff.,

The effectiveness of this military costuming *all'antica* in Mantegna's fresco is due to the thoroughness with which every detail is handled, and to the studied variations on the theme, with never a complete repetition such as would make for stereotype.⁶⁴ With regard to sources, it is probable that he began with the classical type of the Roman soldier that passed from Carolingian and Byzantine into Romanesque art, and was preserved intact throughout mediaeval tradition.⁶⁵ In adapting this traditional type, he does effectively reactivate the full anthropometric potential of the standard classical figuration that clarifies a *contrapposto* stance with long staff or lance, but this Renaissance aptitude on his part does not necessarily indicate familiarity with monumental archetypes in distinction to the abbreviated versions on coin reverses with their characteristic fluency of melodic line.⁶⁶

For the variations of concrete detail, he will have used the resources of an eclectic archaeological patternbook. Thus the ceremonious guard in the foreground to the left, inappropriately decked in the *paludamentum* and ornamental lion-head *caligae* of the Imperial portrait statues, may have been modeled on the representation of an emperor as a victorious warlord on a late antique ivory diptych (Fig. 8).⁶⁷ The two guards attending St. James resemble effigies of private soldiers on military tombstones.⁶⁸ However, the aegis breastplate of the frontal one is decorated with a winged cherub-head instead of the traditional *Gorgoneion*, and the sources of this motif, for which there is no warrant among the *phalerae* or figured bosses and disks applied to the breastplate as marks of honor in the Imperial Roman armies,⁶⁹ or even among the insignia classified in the *Notitia dignitatum imperii romani*,⁷⁰ are rather to be sought in those of the antique warrior types represented in the early Florentine engravings, in the drawings of the Florentine Picture-Chronicle and in the reliefs of Ghiberti and of Andrea del Verrocchio.⁷¹ The classical *loricae* here are enriched with designs, including this particular motif, whose *all'antica* exuberance in the tradition of the Imperial *statuae loricae* doubtless owes more to the patterns used in contemporary festive pageantry and goldsmithery than to the fruits of systematic archaeological research, and is content with the most tenuous symbolical coherence.

A third variation is offered by the bearded and diademed onlooker who leans back nonchalantly against the railing, through which his sword passes in a space-creating diagonal, and who wears breeches beneath the overlapping series of protective thongs that depend from his corselet. This was a barbarian item of military dress, and was part of the uniform of the Praetorian guards,

p. 1308, under "Lorica." Also Baumeister, *Denkmäler*, pp. 2051, 2068. Daremberg-Saglio, *ibid.* p. 1311, observes that a slip of pleated material, attached to the cuirass, is sometimes discernible beneath the protective fringe of leather thongs. Some clear instances occur among the energetic figurations on the Battle sarcophagi (cf. the front of the Ludovisi Sarcophagus, reproduced in Hamberg, *Studies in Roman Imperial Art*, pl. 44). However, in the Imperial portrait statues of the later periods the distinction between tasseled leather thongs and underlying pleats is not always observed (cf. Louis Bréhier, *La sculpture et les arts mineurs byzantins* [Histoire de l'art byzantin publié sous la direction de Charles Diehl, I], Paris, 1936, pl. 1). Comparable too, though less oversimplified, is the treatment of the *lorica* in the celebrated Barberini ivory in the Louvre (*ibid.*, pl. xxiv; and Delbrück, *Die Consular-diptychen*, no. 48).

64. The same variety is sometimes studied in the Roman commemorative reliefs, on aesthetic grounds but also with the express iconographical intention of stressing the representation of the diverse military corps. Cf., e.g., the *Adlocutio* panel of the Aurelian reliefs of the Arch of Constantine in Rome, and a corresponding passage from the Column reliefs: Hamberg, *op.cit.*, pls. 12, 25, pp. 86f., 142.

65. This would account for the traditional type of Goliath, among others. Cf. Adhémar, *Influences antiques*, p. 290. It would also explain the classical-warrior type of Aeneas in Simone Martini's frontispiece miniature, *passim*. Here the

specific representational tradition would appear to have come down via the warrior-saint types in the Middle Byzantine ivories—in the so-called Harbaville Triptych in the Louvre (for example, Bréhier, *op.cit.*, pl. xxxi).

66. Blum, pp. 22f., stresses this stylistic quality in Mantegna's figurations and its probable numismatic derivation. Cf. Weisbach, *Trionfi*, p. 63.

67. Cf. the Emperor (Honorius) Diptych of Probus (Rome, 406) in the Cathedral Treasure, Aosta, showing also a certain physiognomical resemblance: Delbrück, *op.cit.*, no. 1, with costume analysis on pp. 85f. Also the Barberini ivory mentioned above, stylistically datable in the 6th century: *ibid.*, no. 48. The long tight sleeves of Mantegna's guard are Byzantinizing, however (cf. Figs. 13, 14, 16), and his kite-shaped shield shows another mediaeval development. As for the classic *Gorgoneion* aegis, it is transferred from the breastplate to the fibula.

68. Cf. the diverse examples reproduced in Baumeister, *Denkmäler*, pp. 2015ff.

69. *Ibid.*, p. 2062. Cf. Lindenschmit, *Tracht und Bewaffnung*, pp. 16-18.

70. See the edition of Ed. Boecking, Bonn, 1839-1853. Also the condensed reproduction of the 15th century miniatures of its Ms Lat. 9661 in the publication of the Bibliothèque Nationale (Henri Omont, ed.), Paris, 1911 and 1929.

71. Cf. Colvin, *Florentine Picture-Chronicle*, nos. 6, 25, 55, figs. 14, 88, 108.

who were likewise more often bearded, and were in fact recruited from the Germanic tribes. However, mediaeval classicizing tradition also comes into account in this connection. Assimilated to the Imperial household troops in sacred iconography, just as Christ the Pantocrator was assimilated to the Emperor (and *vice versa*), were the Celestial Militia of Byzantine and Byzantinizing painting, and they appear to be represented in this kit in a painting by Guariento that would have been accessible to Mantegna in Padua (Fig. 16). We can discern the outlines if not the texture of breeches beneath the agitated hems of their long tunics as they advance in close formation; but their ornamental leggings lack the practicable fastenings with which Mantegna's concrete Renaissance realism has equipped those of his elegant officer.⁷² The latter's neatly articulated arm-guards will of course be noted as a contemporary accretion.

Notice might finally be taken of a fourth variation in the figure of Herod Agrippa's winsome little page, preposterously attired in helmet and *exomis*, and leaning on a man-sized shield adorned with a face of Medusa-like stoniness but without the serpent locks. In the first place, he represents the type of man-at-arms who guards the enthroned potentate, whether Emperor or Pontius Pilate, King Herod, Pharaoh, or Joseph as Governor, sometimes alone, more often associated with a colleague, when occasionally they will both be posted instead of the chamberlains behind the throne.⁷³ On the other hand, his youth gives him some further connotations and overtones, so that he might also be described as an adaptation to the iconographic tradition that we have outlined, and that Mantegna has archaeologically refurbished here, of the small arms-bearing or arms-keeping figure that stands guard at the corners of Embriachi caskets and of Venetian Renaissance tombs. Originally descended, in this capacity, from the winged genii of antique sarcophagi, he follows a path to Mantegna that leads through the amatory subject matter of Gothic courtly allegory, and is a cousin to the impudent putto who toys with the weapons of Mars and of Hercules, in Renaissance as previously in antique Hellenistic painting.⁷⁴

The texture of the armor in Mantegna's fresco is evidently leather. While this is as correct as metal, archaeologically,⁷⁵ the rather surprising polychromy may furnish a clue to the artist's sources. It is clear that Mantegna felt free to give full scope to decorative considerations, for the soldiers' leather corselets are tinted in a beautiful interplay of blue-greens, violets, and various more or less metallic shades, coppers and bronzes.⁷⁶ The figures of archangels and warrior saints in the Byzantine mosaics make a similarly colorful array; but though tunic, leggings, and chlamys or *paludamentum* and its lining are treated for the most effective color harmony and contrast within each individual figure and between one figure and another, the armor itself is naturalistically rendered in a straightforward metallic tint.⁷⁷ The decorative coloring of armor proper comes late in Byzantine painting, and as a mark of Western influence.⁷⁸ Thus precedents for Mantegna's use of artificial colors for the armor of Roman soldiers had been established in Italian fresco representations of the World-Chronicle theme, if not locally in the Sala Virorum Illustrium (later Sala dei Giganti) of the Palazzo della Ragione, or yet, from the brush of Paolo Uccello, in the

72. This panel painting, which dates from the third quarter of the fourteenth century, formed part of the ceiling decoration of the Chapel in the Carrarese palace, known under the Venetian regime as the Palazzo del Capitano. (See A. Moschetti, *Il Museo Civico di Padova*, Padua, 1938, pp. 422-424, fig. 332.) There may actually have been some confusion here in the artist's patternbook, as between ornamentally figured metal kneeguards and the breeches that were standard for the representation of men-at-arms in Byzantine painting, as for Betrayal inscenations. An obviously intentional ambiguity as between shield and *paludamentum* is apparent in his treatment of the cloaks.

73. For a counterpart in classical sepulchral decoration, cf. the Victoria with inscribed shield and lance, as in a Lares altar in the Vatican: Altmann, *Grabaltäre*, no. 230 (p. 175). The

shield is shown resting against a small pillar, and the lance is deposited on a special pedestal.

74. For a classification of some of this comparative material in another connection, see J. von Schlosser, "Die Werkstatt der Embriachi in Venedig," *Jbh. d. kunsth. Samml. des Oesterr. Kaiserhauses*, xx, 1899, pp. 220ff., 270f., 278f.

75. Paul Couissin, *Les armes romaines*, Paris, 1926, pp. 337f.

76. See the excellent color reproductions in G. Fiocco, *Mantegna: La Cappella Ovetari nella Chiesa degli Eremitani*, Milan, 1945 (pl. v).

77. Cf. Ernst Diez and Otto Demus, *Byzantine Mosaics in Greece (Hosios Lucas and Daphni)*, Cambridge (Mass.), 1931, pls. VII, VIII.

78. Cf. Hans Gerstinger, *Die griechische Buchmalerei*, Vienna, 1926, p. 40.

atrium of Palazzo Vitaliani, for these Paduan versions are all reported to have been rendered in grisaille,⁷⁹ then in the celebrated decorations (ca. 1420) of Palazzo Trinci in Foligno,⁸⁰ the principles of which will at least have been familiar to him as standard studio recipes. Alternatively, the conventions of book illustration will have furnished the inspiration and the warrant.⁸¹ We can assume that Mantegna and his precursors would scarcely have known about the original vivid polychromy of the Imperial *statuae thorocatae* (*loricatae*), although they may have seen the richly encrusted bronze statuette replicas.⁸² Yet it is surely no mere coincidence, but rather a clear indication of their true elective affinity for the art of classical antiquity, often and rightly at variance with some of our own chaste neoclassic aesthetic misconceptions, that early Renaissance artists should have thus recalled the lost colorful exuberance, albeit in conscious accord also with the Gothic tradition for polychrome sculpture, and in response to the festive pageantry of the times.

III

To recapitulate, it would appear that Mantegna found the framework and the essentials of a Roman inscenation already available in iconographic tradition for the representation of this particular category of theme. Basically, his problem was one of reversing the mediaeval trend, accelerated in Gothic art with its characteristic feeling for modernity, to substitute contemporary dress and architecture for the degenerating antique, and then of brushing up the forms of this earlier tradition and reducing them to plausible antiquarian consistency. He undoubtedly succeeded in expressing a lively sense of the visual aspect of classical antiquity. However, in suiting form to content with a revolutionary thoroughness that found no immediate imitators, he must have supplemented the types from early Christian antiquity that gave him his starting point, and his relatively narrow though imaginatively exploited archaeological repertory, with a few appropriate *all'antica* motifs borrowed at second hand and eclectically from mediaeval tradition. In the process, he created a brilliant pastiche, more or less, and not incongruously, along Petrarchan *trionfi* lines. There was, admittedly, ample precedent in humanistic art, from Simone Martini to Donatello, for a systematically reconstructive use of classical quotations, both at first and at second hand. Nor was it in their antiquarian coherence that Mantegna's St. James frescoes, and his Trial scene in particular, were unprecedented in Renaissance art, for this quality might be largely explained by the opportunity of a truly monumental scope. The telling qualities are those that we have stressed: Mantegna's novel concern for concrete realism of detail within a classical context, and his use of studied variation to avoid all appearance of stereotype. And the result, anticipating the supreme achievement of the still more richly textured Triumph of Caesar cartoons, is an *imitatio* of classical antiquity, at once scholarly and imaginative, that has lost nothing of its vivid plausibility to this more sophisticated day. Stylistically, all this disparate material is reduced to terms of the melodious classicism that was delicately standardized in the earlier Imperial coin-types.

79. For the presumed technique of the Paduan Trecento frescoes, see T. E. Mommsen, in *ART BULLETIN*, XXXIV, 1952, *passim*: on p. 101 n. 53 he cites a reference to polychromy and gold in Michele Savonarola's *De laudibus Patavii* of ca. 1446, but on p. 106 he refers to Schlosser's assumption in the Austrian *Jahrbuch*, XVI, 1895, *passim*, p. 185 and p. 189 n. 4, that the murals must have been monochrome, like their miniature copies. For documentation on the technique of Uccello's murals, see G. Fiocco, "I Giganti di Paolo Uccello," *Rivista d'Arte*, XVII, ser. II, VII, 1935, pp. 385ff., and C. L. Ragghianti, "Casa Vitaliani," *Critica d'Arte*, II, 1937, pp. 236ff., with reference to the literary sources in Vasari and Michiel.

80. Mario Salmi, "Gli affreschi del Palazzo Trinci a Foligno," *Bollettino d'Arte*, XIII, 1919, pp. 139ff. In his description of the planetary deities represented here, Salmi

remarks (p. 149) on the irrationally decorative coloring of the armor of Mars, suggestive of a carnival masquerade.

81. To take one example among many, cf. a Quattrocento (third quarter of the century) illustrated Plutarch in the Biblioteca Malatestiana, Cesena, with an initial bust-portrait of Marcus Crassus "stretta in un armatura di rosa e d'azzurro" (and featuring, incidentally, the ornamental aegis motif of the winged cherub-head discussed above): see M. Salmi, in *Tesori delle biblioteche d'Italia*, I, Emilia e Romagna, Milan, 1932, p. 330, fig. 176.

82. See Daremberg-Saglio, *Dictionnaire*, p. 1311. The Consular Diptychs too were originally finished with polychromy, of which traces are known to have survived in one example into the late 16th century: Delbrück, *op.cit.*, p. 21.

The question finally arises how a young and inexperienced artist, technically and intellectually precocious as Mantegna undoubtedly was, can have coped with the formidable iconographical problem. Indeed, the inference is compelling that he must have had the benefit of some very useful advice, and that a measure of credit for his achievement should be reserved for an archaeological collaborator.

The most celebrated pioneer figure in early Renaissance classical archaeology was Ciriaco d'Ancona. Inasmuch as most of his voluminous and freely illustrated Commentaries perished in a fire of the early sixteenth century, leaving to posterity but one or two known autograph drawings, along with some further scattered material transcribed or excerpted in the humanistic codices of others, there is limited evidence from which to draw conclusions. Of his archaeological investigations in Rome, for instance, which might well have been crucial to Mantegnesque studies, not one visual record is known to have survived, and the literary notices shed no very helpful light.⁸³ Ciriaco can, however, be brought into account as an early and influential promoter of epigraphical and numismatic researches in Northern Italy, including Padua, and this would have an indirect bearing on Mantegna's use of coins and funerary monuments as reference material. Actually, it is more probable that his immediate source of inspiration for the accessory use of such material is to be sought in the ambience of Donatello and of Jacopo Bellini, and that the connection with Cyriacian archaeology was indirect. For the rest, there is ample documentary⁸⁴ and some visual⁸⁵ evidence that Ciriaco took a keen antiquarian interest in Byzantine illuminated manuscripts—a handy repository of the secondhand antique.

As for Squarcione, the last word on his vaunted antiquarianism, anachronistically extended in the apocrypha of Mannerist art criticism even to the use of plaster casts as studio models, was surely said some fifty years ago by Robert Eisler.⁸⁶ We know that Mantegna himself made a point of ignoring his erstwhile mentor, and received at his hands nothing but negative criticism in connection with his Eremitani project.⁸⁷ So let us ignore him likewise, and seek Mantegna's humanist-adviser in a more intellectual quarter. The University of Padua suggests itself at once, and one of its more distinguished graduates, Giovanni Marcanova, will be found well worth considering for the role. He must have been available, as he did not take up his faculty appointment at Bologna until 1452, by which date the Ovetari Chapel project was well under way. And he doubtless kept in touch with Padua, where he returned on his retirement in 1467.

The scenic drawings of the antiquities of Rome in Marcanova's own antiquarian codex, completed in 1465,⁸⁸ might at first sight appear to preclude the association, although one of these curious drawings reflects obvious familiarity with the Eremitani St. James cycle.⁸⁹ They can nonetheless be rationalized by early Renaissance criteria, which generally discounted formal values in antiquarian matters, looking rather for apt literary allusions and epigraphical data.⁹⁰ Marcanova,

83. Ciriaco's archaeological contribution to early Renaissance art and thought is shrewdly evaluated by F. Saxl, "The Classical Inscription in Renaissance Art and Politics," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, IV, 1940-1941, pp. 19ff., 32ff. His sketching of the ancient monuments in Rome is described, with reference to the literary sources, by G. B. de Rossi, *Piante iconografiche e prospettiche di Roma anteriori al secolo XVI*, Rome, 1879, pp. 95f. See also the bibliographical reference to Huelsen in note 88 below.

84. See Hans Graeven, "Cyriacus von Ancona auf dem Athos," *Centralblatt für Bibliothekswesen*, XVI, 1899, pp. 209ff.

85. To judge by the style of Ciriaco's celebrated archaic Hermes miniature in the Bodleian manuscript, it would appear that he had translated the engraved linear rendering on a Greek gem into the freely pictorial terms of the middle Byzantine mythological illustrations in line and wash after the late antique. Cf. Panofsky and Saxl, "Classical Mythology

in Medieval Art," *Metropolitan Museum Studies*, IV, 1932-1933, pp. 228ff., fig. 44, and Weitzmann, *Greek Mythology in Byzantine Art*, fig. 23.

86. In *Monatsbericht über Kunst und Kunstwissenschaft*, III, 1903, *passim*, pp. 162ff. On the other hand A. M. Tammassia, *op.cit.* (note 3 above), stresses the importance and formative influence of Squarcione's antiquarian atelier.

87. *Ibid.* Cf. Kristeller, *Andrea Mantegna*, pp. 21f., with reference to Vasari.

88. Published by Christian Huelsen under the misleading title *La Roma antica di Ciriaco d'Ancona*, Rome, 1907, with reference to some primary literary sources on Ciriaco's extensive and systematic sightseeing in Rome in 1424-1425 and again in 1433. For subsequent literature, see *Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome*, VI, 1927, pp. 113ff., and 127ff.

89. Huelsen, *op.cit.*, pl. IV.

90. See above, note 9.



8. Emperor Diptych of Probus. Aosta, Cathedral Treasure
(photo: Alinari)



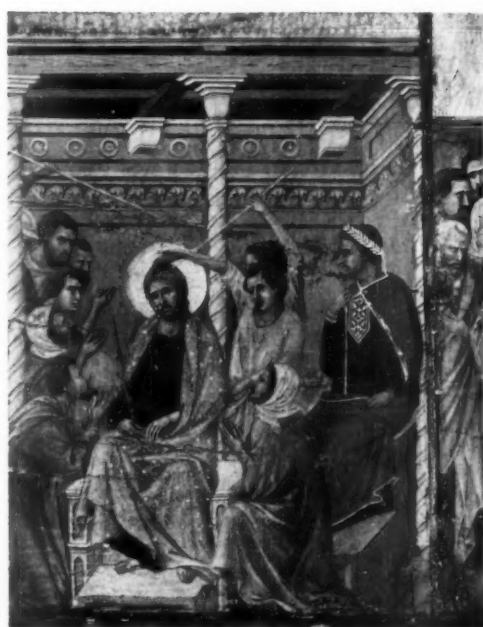
9. Forum of Trajan, reverse of medal. London, British Museum
(photo: Courtesy of the Trustees)



10. Triumphal Arch of Nero in Rome, reverse of medal
London, British Museum (photo: Courtesy of the Trustees)



11. Liberalitas Augusti of Severus. Rome, Palazzo Sacchetti (photo: Fototeca Unione)



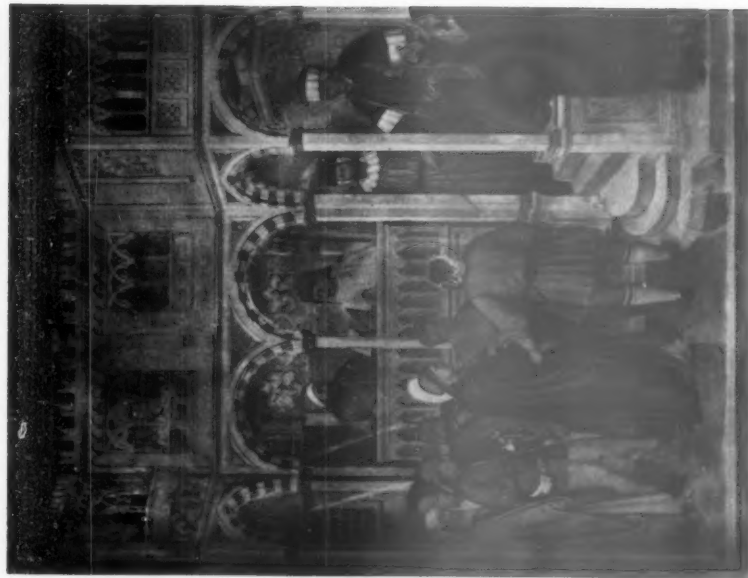
12. Duccio, *The Crowning with Thorns*, detail
Siena, Opera del Duomo (photo: Alinari)



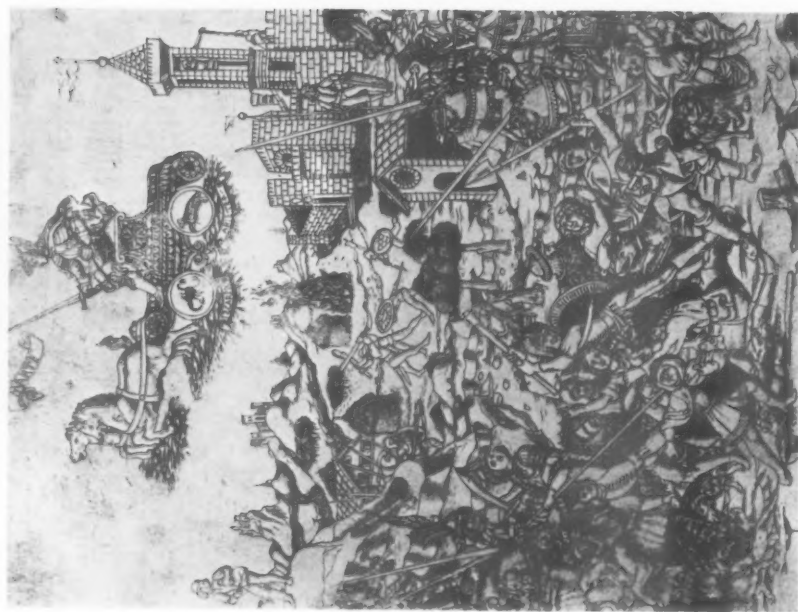
13. Simone Martini, *St. Martin Renounces the Military Life*, detail. Assisi, San Francesco, lower church
(photo: Alinari)



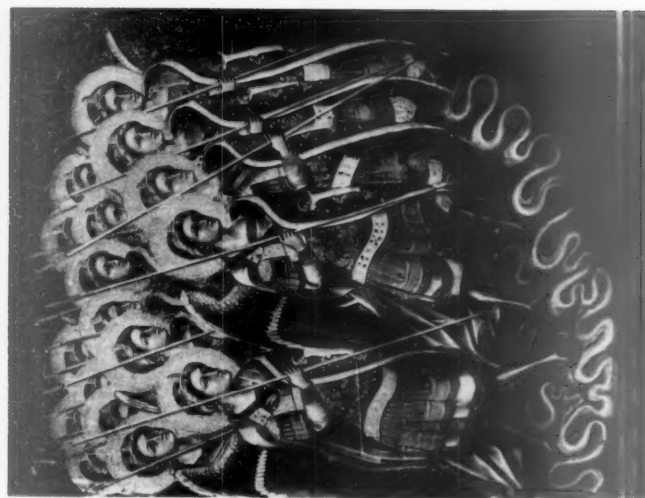
14. Simone Martini, *Virgil with Servius and Aeneas*, frontispiece, Petrarch's codex. Milan, Ambrosian Library (photo: Library)



15. Avanzo, *Condemnation of St. Lucy* Padua, Chapel of St. George (photo: Alinari)



17. *Triumph of Joseph*, from the Florentine Picture Chronicle, ca. 1460-1470. London, British Museum (photo: Courtesy of the Trustees)



16. Guariento, *Celestial Militia*. Padua, Museo Civico (photo: Alinari)

18. *Planet Mars and His Children* London, British Museum (photo: Courtesy of the Trustees)

incidentally, would make another link between Mantegna and Ciriaco d'Ancona, though Christian Huelsen is surely wide of the mark in attributing his Antiquities drawings to Ciriaco himself.

With prima-facie objections to early contact between Mantegna and Marcanova removed, we can find concrete evidence to support the assumption that this was the humanist whose advice and information will have helped to promote the systematically synthetic quality of the *all'antica* inscenations in the Ovetari Chapel. The inscription on the triumphal arch in the Trial scene, used also, however, by Jacopo Bellini, was garnered by Marcanova in the first place.⁹¹ The lost treatise on Roman triumphs and dignities that Marcanova composed, and that has been suggested as a subsidiary source of the Triumph of Caesar cartoons,⁹² will presumably have gone into questions of armor and drapery, and the materials used will probably have circulated beforehand. That Marcanova concerned himself with the formal aspects, both architectural-ornamental and figural, of the monuments from which he gleaned his inscriptions, is attested by the illustrations that accompany the epigraphical material in his antiquarian codex and by features of its scenic drawings. Accordingly, inasmuch as armor is represented on the military tombstones in all its variety of detail, much of the wide and choice range of items from the Roman armory that Mantegna features, not always quite appropriately to be sure, may well have been suggested to him by material that Marcanova must have been in a special position to furnish. For the rest, our assumption is taken out of the realm of pure hypothesis and of merely circumstantial evidence by the literary record of the close association of these two in later years, as members of a progressive not to say extravagantly Academic group of humanists about the Gonzaga court.⁹³

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91. See above, note 55.

92. Karl Giehlow, "Die Hieroglyphenkunde des Humanismus in der Allegorie der Renaissance," *Jbh. d. kunsth. Samml. des Oesterr. Kaiserhauses*, xxxii, 1915, pp. 1ff., 89f. Cf. Weisbach, *Trionfi*, p. 11.

93. See Kristeller, *op.cit.*, pp. 17, 175ff., 176f. The literary source is Felice Feliciano's much-cited account of gay archaeo-

logical picnics on the shores of Lake Garda, and Kristeller infers that a Giovanni Antenori mentioned, and not otherwise identifiable, must be Marcanova. Tietze-Conrat (*Mantegna*, p. 14) accepts the identification without question, but M. Meiss (*Andrea Mantegna as Illuminator*, p. 91) is skeptically noncommittal.



THE ARCHBISHOP ON THE PAINTERS OF FLORENCE, 1450*

CREIGHTON GILBERT

I

FEW phases of the history of art are more familiar than the emergence of Renaissance painting in Quattrocento Florence: its great masters, its individual masterpieces, its abrupt shift from older style. But we have hardly any information on the external circumstances: was the new style well received by patrons and public, or was there a battle? Does it have a connection with the new secularism which allegedly is a Renaissance phenomenon and a beginning of modern attitudes? Or does it have stronger links with the religious symbolism which according to other allegations was only modified but not weakened? Is it dependent on or only parallel to the developments in sculpture and architecture?

These problems have been treated with silence or with speculation. This paper presents a statement on painters written in Florence between 1446 and 1459, which is rich in suggestion on these and similar matters. While different and opposed views may well have been held, the author is a personality of remarkable weight, the Archbishop St. Antonino. A historian of art has recently reminded us that "there can be no doubt that, to the average Florentine, the greatest Florentine of the century was Archbishop Antoninus."¹ A distinguished church historian has observed that his "authority on moral questions was perhaps even more studied, in the later Middle Ages, than that of Aquinas."² His name is today not on our list of great figures in history, while those of Cosimo de' Medici and St. Thomas are; to think of him in this company is to give much weight to his words. Besides church history, economic history has singled him out as a key personality; three twentieth century monographs have discussed him as perhaps the first person to define capitalism.³ That interest is relevant to his views on painters. Though his personal position is of chief interest, his official status is important too; before becoming Archbishop, he was the first prior of San Marco, and in both positions was in a position to direct the execution of paintings like a patron. Thus his views would be translated into practice.

The discussion of painters is one entire short chapter of his *Summa Theologica*, written for the most part after he became Archbishop.⁴ The work was enormously successful,⁵ but the chapter has remained, apparently, virtually unknown to historians of art.⁶ Antonino's *Summa* is no repeti-

* This study is the happy by-product of a pending study of Masaccio's *Trinity*, supported by a Faculty Summer Fellowship from Indiana University in 1957. My colleague F. W. Householder, Jr., kindly checked my English rendering of the text.

1. P. Murray in *Burlington Magazine*, xcix, 1957, p. 337.

2. G. G. Coulton, *Art and the Reformation*, Oxford, 1928, p. 382.

3. C. Ilgner, *Die Volkswirtschaftlichen Anschauungen Antonins von Florenz*, Paderborn, 1904; B. Jarrett, *S. Antonino and Medieval Economics*, London, 1914; W. T. Gaughan, *Social Theories of St. Antoninus from his Summa Theologica*, Washington, 1950.

4. He became Archbishop in 1446 and died in 1459. Vespasiano da Bisticci (1421-1498) notes in his short life: "In spite of his heavy task of office he wrote the greater part of it [the *Summa*] while he was Archbishop." Vespasiano was a bookman, and in Florence during these years. Dr. M. Levi

d'Ancona will shortly publish documents of payment to him from San Marco for binding in each year from 1446 to 1454. (*The Vespasiano Memoirs*, tr. Waters, London, 1926, p. 159.)

5. Altogether, the printed catalogues of the British Museum, Bibliothèque Nationale, and Berlin libraries record nineteen editions in their possession published from 1474 to 1529. There are also four from 1571 to 1756.

6. Vol. III, tit. 8, sec. 4, chap. 11. Two phrases from the iconographic section have been quoted by themselves in studies on the themes in question. Naturally enough the impression was left that the quotation on the iconography of the Annunciation was part of a discussion on its theology rather than other iconographies, so that no results followed. The Annunciation clause was cited by S. Beissel (*Revue de l'art chrétien*, XLVII, 1904, p. 442), and with acknowledgment to him quoted by D. Robb (*ART BULLETIN*, XVIII, 1936, p. 526); it is not entered under "Antoninus" in the *Art Bulletin: Index of Volumes I-XXX*. The Trinity clause was quoted by G. Hooge-

tion of St. Thomas', but like it a full survey of contemporary life. The chapter occurs in a section devoted to occupations. Large parts of it preceding are devoted to rulers, soldiers, teachers, and lawyers. Then comes the part *De statu mercatorum et artificiorum*, with four divisions. Here with much else is a highly Florentine series of numerous trades in the textile industry. The fourth and last division of it, "miscellaneous," discusses among others mercers, goldsmiths, and jewelers, brokers, moneylenders attached to the wool trade, perfumers, surgeon-barbers, architects, smiths and carpenters, painters, musicians and farmers. All have the same function: to prescribe ethical behavior in work. Such an approach is not rare, recalling two other types of Florentine Quattrocento writing. The exhaustive lists recall the too little known writings of 1472 by Benedetto Dei ("eighty-three warehouses of the silk merchants' guild . . . fifty-four workshops of stonemasons and marble workers . . .").⁷ More broadly, the ethical function recalls works like Antonino's *Opera a ben vivere*, the *Regola del governo di cura familiare* of his mentor Cardinal Dominici, Leonardo Bruni's *Isagogicon moralis disciplinae*, and several works of Alberti—it is a concern alike of churchmen and humanists. Antonino's first concern for the painters involves two moral matters, the establishment of fair prices and their propriety in representing religious themes. Both have unexpectedly wide implications, the latter leading straight to surprising preferences in style. The following English version sacrifices smoothness for literalness:

Painters claim, more or less reasonably, to be paid the salary of their art not only by the amount of work, but more in proportion to their application and greater expertness in their trade. They are at fault when they make images that provoke to desire, not because of their beauty but because of their arrangement, such as naked women and the like. They are to be condemned who paint things that are against the faith, when they make as an image of the Trinity one Person with three heads, which is monstrous in the nature of things, or in the Annunciation of the Virgin for the little boy, that is Jesus, to be sent fully formed into the womb of the Virgin, as if his body were not produced from the substance of the Virgin; or the little Jesus with a tablet of letters, when he had not learned from man.⁸ But neither are they to be praised when they paint apocrypha, such as midwives at the Virgin's delivery, or her girdle being sent down by the Virgin Mary in her Assumption to the Apostle Thomas on account of his doubt, and the like. It seems superfluous and vain in the stories of saints or in churches to paint oddities, which do not serve to excite devotion, but laughter and vanity, such as monkeys and dogs chasing hares, and the like, or vain adornments of clothing.

With these are closely associated the miniaturists of books, either with pen or brush, who are due the price of their labor. The same offend if they do this on feast days, or when they demand an excessive price, and especially when they do not put good mixtures in their colors, on account of which they fade quickly in the books, or when so as to finish quickly they do not do it diligently, when there has been no contract signed for such a price.⁹

werff in *Rendiconti della Pont. Accademia romana di archeologia*, XIX, 1942-1943, p. 220, and later writers on the Trinity following him. I owe my knowledge of the chapter to following up this reference. A much larger portion is quoted by G. G. Coulton, *op.cit.*, a work that seems despite its title and mass of original text to be outside the art historian's repertory. Much of the iconographic section is on pp. 382-383, without discussion. (Coulton is dealing with a 16th century theologian who quotes a phrase from Antonino, which Coulton extends in a footnote.) On p. 206 the section on miniaturists is quoted, except the final clause. That the chapter has remained, in general, unknown to the history of art may be because the scholars who collected our texts were archivists, concerned with biographical knowledge, while this provides only iconography and social history with no names. It appears to be the first addition in sixty years to our stock of quattrocento texts on painting.

7. Passage translated from the manuscript by G. R. M. Richards, *Florentine Merchants in the Age of the Medici*, Cambridge (Mass.), 1932, pp. 44-46.

8. Or "when he had not learned beyond his name," a rather forced translation, if the alternative suggested in note 9

(*ab nomine*) is followed. Fortunately this does not seem to alter Antonino's argument at all.

9. *Pictores non solum secundum quantitatem laboris, sed magis secundum industriam et maiorem peritiam artis, de salario suo artificii magis vel minus rationabiliter postulant sibi solvi. Qui in hoc offendunt, quando formant imagines provocativas ad libidinem, non ex pulcritudine sed ex dispositione earum, ut mulieres nudas et huiusmodi. Reprehensibiles etiam sunt cum pingunt ea, quae sunt contra fidem, cum faciunt Trinitatis imaginem unam Personam cum tribus capitibus, quod monstrum est in rerum natura; vel in Annuntiatione Virginis parvulum puerum formatum, scilicet Jesum, mitti in uterum Virginis, quasi non esset de substantia Virginis ejus corpus assumptum; vel parvulum Jesum cum tabula litterarum, quum non didicerit ab homine (or *ab nomine* according to the 1740 edition, and perhaps others). Sed nec etiam laudandi sunt, quum apocrypha pingunt, ut obstetrices in partu Virginis, Thomae apostolo cingulum suum a Virgine Maria in Assuntione sua propter dubitationem ejus dimissum, ac huiusmodi. In historiis etiam sanctorum seu in ecclesiis pingere curiosa, quae non valent ad devotionem ex-*

In the following analysis of the light thrown on painting, a familiar pattern can be followed but with several unusually happy factors. A Renaissance theologian's statement about painting has value in view of the temptation of quoting views on theological matters and making the logically dubious jump to iconographic practice. Nor is there in this case the temptation to align the statement with works of art of a different period. Finally, problems of quoting in context are relatively slight in dealing with a separate chapter; the only citations of other chapters needed are for comparison and contrast, as in what follows immediately.

II

The first sentence, on the proper way to determine prices, is in sharp contrast with the pattern for most occupations. The quoted case of the miniaturists illustrates the norm, and so too does that of the architects. Time and materials are the relevant factors; the wages are those of craftsman or tradesman. With the painter time spent is defined as secondary, materials are conspicuous by their absence, and personal skill is uppermost. The socio-economic result is so different as to be opposed, since the same expenditure of time and materials would produce divergent payments. As we would expect from an articulate innovator in economics, Antonino knows something exceptional is involved, for he reports that the painters *claim* this system. But he is rather inclined to agree, calling the claim "more or less reasonable." These phrases confirm the likelihood that this is the earliest statement of such views.

This shift is the concrete symptom of the total change in the view of painting from craftsmanship to the work of an artist with personality. It has always been known that this shift was in a critical stage in Quattrocento Florence, as illustrated in the two handbooks of painting by Cennini—with his grinding of colors—and Alberti—with his theory of perspective and composition. Alberti, like Antonino, makes the point concrete in terms of social position, when he absorbs painting among the "liberal arts," a category with fixed and limited membership in the Middle Ages.¹⁰ Others were slower to see the change, like Lorenzo Valla who in 1444 refers to the visual "arts which come close to the liberal."¹¹ For this reason most writers, including myself, have considered the concept as well established only in the sixteenth century.¹² But the statement of Antonino, not only an economic analyst but a patron, suggests powerfully that it was already being applied in his time.

Besides such generalities, a very concrete sort of evidence is relevant here. That is the type of contract for a painting in which a minimum price is set with the proviso that after completion a neutral committee of experts shall decide what further fee may be due for the quality of the work. It would be of interest to study this well-known form in connection with such broader factors, and also to find out when it first appears and becomes frequent; I would suspect that it is during the course of the fifteenth century.

The change from fixed wages to fluid contracts for painters is, to be sure, part of a very broad change indeed, from feudalism to capitalism, from the "status" to the "contract" society. This generalization is not entirely remote from our text. Antonino's position as an early theorist of capitalism has been mentioned; he is in particular remarkable for his original approach to the problem of the "just price," that great bugbear of Christian economic theory in the Middle

citandum, sed risum et vanitatem, ut simias et canes insequentes lepores, et hujusmodi, vel vanos ornatus vestimentorum, superfluum videtur et vanum.

His haerent miniatore librorum sive cum calamo sive cum penello, quibus etiam competit praemium de labore suo. Offendunt et ipsi, si diebus festis hoc agunt, vel quando nimium pretium exigunt, et maxime quum non bona temperamenta in coloribus mittunt, propter quod cito delenter in libris, vel quando ut cito expleant, non diligenter facient, quando neque

firmitum est pactum de tanto pretio.

10. "... tante optime et divine arti et scientie . . . pictori, sculptori, architecti, musici, geometri, rhetorici. . ." (L. B. Alberti's *kleinere kunsttheoretische Schriften*, ed. Janitschek, Vienna, 1877, p. 47; preface to *Della pittura*.)

11. Quoted by W. K. Ferguson, "Humanist Views of the Renaissance," *American Historical Review*, XLV, 1939, pp. 25ff.

12. *Marsyas*, III, 1946, pp. 87ff.

Ages. R. H. Tawney points out how he altered St. Thomas' view of price based on labor and costs of materials:

In the fifteenth century St. Antonino, who wrote with a highly developed commercial civilization beneath his eyes, endeavored to effect a synthesis, in which the principle of the traditional doctrine should be observed, with the necessary play left to economic motives. After a subtle analysis of the conditions affecting value, he concluded that the fairness of a price could only be a matter of "probability and conjecture," since it would vary with places, periods and persons. . . .

This conclusion, with its recognition of the impersonal forces of the market, was the natural outcome of the intense economic activity of the later Middle Ages, and evidently contained the seeds of an intellectual revolution.¹³

It is clear that these changes are interrelated, and there is room for exciting speculation on the "seeds of a *stylistic* revolution" sown by these "capitalist" painters. But we must take care to observe the differences. The general program involves one kind of variability as a kind of early *laissez-faire* doctrine; two bankers' profits will fluctuate proportionately at the same time. In the painters' pattern, the individual would shift in success in relation to another individual more on account of his reputation than on account of economic conditions. The painter matches not the banker's but the professional man's career.

The social status of the mediaeval artist is very familiar, and the same is true of the artist since the industrial revolution. Renaissance artists have been treated more vaguely, often with mention of individual cases suggesting the earlier and later types.¹⁴ They are instead in a different position, intermediate between the others but specific and definable. Like the lawyer or, for that matter, the architect today, they have recognized social status and vary greatly in success. Like them, they are typically consulted for expert solutions to the occasional needs of wealthy clients. Antonino's formula is the first announcement of a long-lived pattern.¹⁵

III

Turning to the ethics of representation, Antonino first condemns the female nude as an example of what "provokes to desire." We may hazard that he condemns only *those* female nudes *that* provoke to desire, accepting for instance the Eve of Masaccio's *Expulsion* who covers herself and expresses the punishment of sin. The Eve of Masolino's matching *Temptation* might come closer to his objections. Yet even her propriety can be defended by Antonino's remarks further down where he objects to apocrypha. Since nudity here is required by the Book of Genesis, it would be hard to exclude. The nudity of condemned souls in depictions of the Last Judgment, if not canonical, is certainly not provocative, and its use by Angelico suggests that Antonino would not complain.

It is suggested then that secular representations are meant, an idea possibly confirmed by Antonino's exceptional failure to cite any particular subject. What secular nudes would be in the context of Antonino's experience? The nude bride concealed inside the *cassone* would probably have distressed him, despite its hidden and domestic location, if it were not apparently a little too late. The record of a lost "nude Charity" by Castagno, also rather late, may from its location over the door of a civic building be supposed to have had a moralistic rather than a provocative tone.¹⁶ More to the point are the rather few representations of the Judgment of Paris and similar

13. *Religion and the Rise of Capitalism*, New York, Mentor, 1947, p. 42.

14. A neat illustration of this is the title of A. Coomaraswamy and A. G. Carey, *Patron and Artist: Pre-Renaissance and Modern*, Norton (Mass.), 1936. A typical summary is that of M. Rader in *Journal of Aesthetics and Art Criticism*, xvi, 1958, p. 307.

15. Its earliest full-scale illustration may be the complete records of Ghiberti's *St. Matthew*. See A. Doren, *Aktenbuch für Ghibertis Matthäusstatue an Or S. Michele zu Florenz*, Berlin, 1906, with the commentary.

16. M. Salmi, *Paolo Uccello, Andrea del Castagno, Domenico Veneziano*, Milan, 1938, p. 124.

mythologies on trays in the earlier fifteenth century. This paucity may in part result from the greater vulnerability to destruction of privately owned objects. Yet even in the records, the closest we can come to Antonino's reference among the major masters is a single case, in which several factors qualify the relationship. The Medici inventory of 1492 records as by Domenico Veneziano: "A canvas with a seated figure in a tabernacle, half nude, with a skull in its hand, painted in oil, imitating marble."¹⁷ This is only half nude, it may have been a *Vanitas*, and the monochrome suggests its tentative, marginal aspect. On the other hand, if it was *Vanitas* the fact was so little emphasized that it had been lost to awareness even in later fifteenth century Florence, and the location is what we would expect, private rather than civic or churchly. At any rate nothing else in the work of Masaccio, Uccello, and the rest corresponds even so closely as this with Antonino's reference.

The notion of the nude for us invokes the classic and the secular, hence the Renaissance; we might be inclined to see Antonino as an opposed mediaeval cleric. The facts seem quite different. The trays of Paris and the like are to be associated in style and theme with the courtly International Gothic, while the major artist most nearly involved, Domenico, is among the masters of early Quattrocento Florence the one closest to the same culture.¹⁸ A famous work like Pisanello's drawing of Lust strengthens the link. Both Antonino and the major direction of Florentine style reject the sensual nude along with the Gothic, whether or not their reasons are the same.¹⁹ This association of subject and morals with style will reappear below.

This sentence contains a difficult reading: "They are at fault when they make images that provoke to desire . . . because of their *dispositio*, such as naked women." The sentence tells us that *dispositio* must mean subject matter. Yet its only meaning is arrangement, as specifically in the long tradition of handbooks of rhetoric; the parallel in painting would be the cognate "composition." Alberti in 1435 gives one of the first definitions of composition in painting, but from it an extraordinary equation emerges:

We must repeat what composition is. Composition is that order of painting by which the parts of things seen are put together in the painting. The greatest work of the painter is . . . a narrative. Part of the narrative are bodies, part of the body the members, part of the members the surface. So the first parts of painting are surfaces. From the composition of surfaces rises that grace of bodies which is called beauty.²⁰

Alberti thus sets up a continuum from what we would call form ("surfaces," elsewhere defined as consisting of drawn lines) to "content" under the general heading of composition. Hence it is legitimate to read Antonino's *dispositio*, arrangement, as subject matter, the only way in which it makes sense. Incidentally, the similarity of approach between Alberti and Antonino is shown in the same section of Alberti's work in his opinion of the nude: "And if it is proper there, there may be some nudes, and some partly nude and partly dressed, but shamefulness and modesty must always be observed. The parts of the body that are ugly to see . . . are to be covered."²¹

But the major link is more startling, in the references to beauty. Antonino says that painters offend if their images provoke to desire, not on account of beauty, but on account of improper subject. Unraveling the negatives, we find Antonino assuring us that provocation to desire on account of beauty is exempt from his condemnation of provocation by subject. To prevent misunderstanding, he separates the attraction of beauty from the attraction of subject. And the former is legitimate. We are very close here to a notion of beauty of form. Such a thing may seem

17. *Ibid.*, p. 131.

18. Two have been even attributed to Domenico by Salmi; *ibid.*, plate 195. With a different approach, K. Clark has recently shown how the female nude in Quattrocento Italy has Gothic sources. (*The Nude*, London, 1956, pp. 394-395.)

19. E. H. Gombrich has finely demonstrated a link between the old-fashioned, minor art context of *cassoni* and secular

humanism. He rightly points out the discrepancy with our usual ideas; the present study will suggest below a next step, the positive correlation of the modern form and religious tone. (*Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, XVIII, 1955, 16ff.)

20. *Della pittura*, ed. cit., p. 109.

21. *Op.cit.*, p. 119.

impossible in its period. Yet we have seen above that Alberti defines surface as the drawing of lines, and then says that surfaces produce the grace of bodies that produces beauty. This is not abstract beauty, detached from representation; but it is beauty of the figure detached from interest in theme, that can legitimately "provoke to desire." Such a passage as Alberti's has often been passed over, as rhetoric or at best only expressive of the artist's view. Antonino's statement as a layman supports it, and together they show a definite aesthetic. The complexity of this idea is perhaps what makes the sentence linguistically difficult, with its negatives and its special meaning for *dispositio*.

IV

Antonino's advice on particular representations groups in the same sentence the three-headed Trinity, the Annunciation with visible Christ, and the Virgin with reading Child. As an iconographic series (say on the principle of the Mount Athos handbook) this is meaningless. Antonino's concern clearly is not with particular iconographies, an instructive point in itself. He is interested in a general point of view applicable to religious painting as a whole, of which these are available instances. Hence in treating the particular cases briefly and the cultural attitude more fully, we are following his own approach. Fortunately thorough studies on most of his instances exist.

The *Trinity* was a subject of Antonino's special veneration; the entire *Summa* is dedicated to it. G. Hoogewerff's study of the three-headed type²² indicates two in Quattrocento Florence: the relief of 1423 by the firm of Donatello and Michelozzo, and the predella panel by Fra Filippo Lippi of St. Augustine's Vision of the Trinity. Knowing Michelozzo as the architect of his own convent, and having a special interest in Augustine's book on the Trinity, Antonino is likely to have known both. Presumably Antonino approved the more usual type of Trinity, the *Gnadenstuhl*, the form in which God the Father holds the Cross on which Christ is crucified, with the Dove between. From about 1365 until well after the death of Antonino this was the standard form.²³ One may suppose that if he disapproved the majority form, he would not have made a point of disapproving the rare one.

D. Robb has surveyed the type of Annunciation in which the body of the Christ Child is shown flying down from Heaven toward Mary.²⁴ He reports just three fourteenth century examples in Tuscany, from Pacino di Bonaguida to Spinello Aretino, and none there later. A very minor example from Perugia of about 1490 can, however, be added.²⁵

The Virgin and Child paintings in which the Child holds a "tablet of letters" have not been collected as such. However, D. Shorr's survey of the types of Child permits fairly thorough checking for the fourteenth century. Though her concern is chiefly with poses rather than attributes, she notes under the heading "He reads in the Book" that it is rare.²⁶ One later case by a follower of Uccello is noted. About twice as common is a scroll, which would evidently not rouse Antonino's objections since it does not show readable words. A convenient sampling for the early Quattrocento in Florence may be made through the works of Lippi, the one of the major masters who represented the Virgin and Child most often. Of the many works by him and his immediate circle, only one, the Bache Madonna, appears to fit the description.

The small scale and the rarity of these forms suggest that Antonino looked sharply at a great

22. See note 1 above.

23. The early examples are collected by M. Meiss, *Painting in Florence and Siena after the Black Death*, Princeton, 1951, pp. 34-35, and some ca. 1400 by J. Mesnil, *Masaccio*, The Hague, 1927, p. 104n. The still later ones of Baldovinetti, Pesellino, and Botticelli show no alteration.

24. See note 1 above.

25. Washington, National Gallery, painted frame around

a relief by Agostino di Duccio, attributed to Niccolo del Priore. The top strip shows three roundels, Angel, Flying Child, and Mary. (*National Gallery Preliminary Catalogue*, 1941, p. 217, refers only to medallions with saints.)

26. *The Christ Child in Devotional Images in Italy during the Fourteenth Century*, New York, 1954, p. 189; cf. pp. 22, 208.

many pictures, a fact that throws light on the whole chapter. But of more concern is his explanation of why each type is bad. The three-headed Trinity is bad because *monstrum est in rerum natura*. No man grows three heads in nature. The same objection, contrary to nature, applies in the other cases, and in all three we can make that large term more specific: contrary to human biological development. The Child in the Annunciation is bad because the Child grew in Mary's womb afterwards; the reading Child is bad because when he sat on Mary's knee he had not reached the stage of reading. We can then call Antonino "naturalistic" in a quite precise sense. But he uses another term: all three images and others like them are *contra fidem*.

It is hard for us to share Antonino's concern since we accept the Trinity and the Incarnation as contrary to biology altogether; why should one representation be preferred to another on this ground? It is easier to accept a mediaeval stylization, where the treatment seems consistent with this fact. Because Renaissance art is naturalistic, we have since Burckhardt supposed that it was secularizing too. But Antonino presents us with that special attitude, natural religion, still strong in the eighteenth century when Renaissance stylistic traditions were still vital as well. *Quod est monstrum in rerum natura* is also *contra fidem*.

Besides biological naturalism, the objection to the reading Child involves an anti-symbolic attitude. The reading Child refers to the future mission and teaching of Christ by the inscriptions, enhancing the meaningfulness of the image at the expense of empirical consistency. Here again it is instructive that other attributes for the Christ Child are not cited as objectionable although they are more frequent, e.g. the bird. The Child with the Bird may be treated on either level, empirically or symbolically, as the book may not. The iconography of objects held by the Christ Child in paintings is discussed by another Florentine churchman, Cardinal Dominici, whom Antonino admired.²⁷ He chooses the empirical aspect, with ethical but nonsymbolic purpose: the object held by the Christ looks familiar to the observing child and thus excites his interest.²⁸ His list does not include a book.

Of the next group of two objectionable motifs, the presence of midwives in the Nativity can be gauged to some extent through Van Marle's index of fourteenth century iconography.²⁹ Still common in great Tuscan cycles up to about 1300 (the pulpits of the Pisani, the *Maestà* of Duccio), it is omitted by Giotto in Padua apparently to great effect, since it hardly appears thereafter in Florence. Its later life is provincial, including even Giottesque painting in Assisi and Rimini. Yet it could be seen by Antonino as a small section of a famous, nearly contemporary work (1423), the *Adoration of the Magi* of Gentile da Fabriano (Fig. 1).

St. Thomas in the *Assumption* is unique among Antonino's examples by appearing more often than he is omitted. Of large and noticeable representations in Florence from the later fourteenth century, he is conspicuous in those of Orcagna and Nanni di Banco. Later on he survives in popular works, as in five surviving engravings of the later Quattrocento³⁰ and in most of the seven altarpieces recorded by Neri di Bicci in his notebooks.³¹ But at this period he disappears from the works of more original artists, such as Ghiberti's window for the Cathedral, Donatello's relief of 1427, and Castagno's altarpiece of 1449. Here, where the instances are numerous, a cleft between popular traditions and the new style is suggested, with Antonino on the modern side. In omitting the saint, to be sure, these works departed only from a local tradition, centering on the

27. He records his debt to him in his *Chronicon* (III, 23, xii, 3) quoted by S. Orlandi, *Necrologio di S. Maria Novella*, Florence, 1955, II, p. 264.

28. Quoted and discussed in Gilbert, *ART BULLETIN*, XXXIV, 1952, p. 206.

29. *The Development of the Italian Schools of Painting*, VI, The Hague, 1925, p. 31. The indexer has laudably included in the list reproduced works showing the motif (even when secondary) when it is not referred to in the text, as well

as text descriptions of works not reproduced. To be sure, the majority of Nativities having this scene are probably neither reproduced nor described in such detail, but this may serve as a sound sampling.

30. A. M. Hind, *Early Italian Engraving*, London, 1938, II, pls. 11, 13, 16; III, pls. 186, 207.

31. Cited by G. Milanese in his notes to Vasari, Florence, 1878, II, pp. 74-75.

relic at Prato, yet perhaps the stronger for that. They had to reject the very conspicuous work of Nanni, the latest instance by a leading artist. (The popular term "Porta della Mandorla" suggests what a familiar landmark it was.) J. Pope-Hennessy has recently emphasized that Nanni's *Assumption* is in style "less forward-looking" than his work just preceding.³² Its obsolescent iconography is, at least, an oddly coinciding fact. This famous work and Ghiberti's window presented Antonino with contrasting solutions in his own cathedral.

The midwives and St. Thomas are for him examples of another generally bad practice, the representation of apocrypha. The examples suggest that he does not mean to reject legends of saints, but rather interpolations in an earlier, more authoritative text. This plea for textual accuracy unexpectedly recalls the contemporary humanist philologists, so anxious to establish true texts—even, at the extreme, Valla's attack on the Donation of Constantine. Yet it would be difficult to point to more here than a shared instinct in the culture. There is more to be learned from the relation between this interest and Antonino's other demands. The "naturalism" of the preceding examples and the "authoritativeness" of these may be said to meet in a desire for the reasonable. And the following example, where he objects to "vanos ornamentos," to the fanciful and unjustifiable, concurs and adds further overtones. The sensible, the plain, the orderly are wanted. Iconographic requirements begin to show themselves as a preference in style.

The final objection to a motif mentions no particular subject. Yet the examples of "laughable and vain" *curiosa* in religious painting, monkeys, dogs chasing rabbits, and vain ornaments of clothing, can only evoke one theme, the Adoration of the Magi, in one style which made it a favorite image, the International Gothic. Gentile da Fabriano's masterpiece is virtually a casebook of what Antonino disliked. Though no Florentine ever went so far, the earlier one of Lorenzo Monaco would fall under censure, while later Domenico Veneziano's tondo has much of the same tone, which is only beginning to disappear in the Washington tondo by Angelico and Filippo Lippi. This brings us to the date of Antonino's writing.

All this suggests the remarkable position of Masaccio's Adoration predella (Fig. 2), painted just three years after Gentile's version. It seems legitimate to regard it as a criticism. It is clear in any case that it differs from Gentile in just the ways in which Antonino would want revisions made, not only in avoiding richness and extra anecdote, but in biological naturalism and suppression of apocrypha. There is even evidence that Masaccio's achievement was understood in just this way. The first "art criticism" of him, by Landino in 1481, has as its key statement that he was "puro senza ornato." Landino, a Dante scholar who refers little to painters, presumably did not invent the remark, but picked up an existing view.³³ The similarity to Antonino's aversion to "vanos ornatus" is striking; even the negative terms are the same.

Masaccio's *Trinity* is the classic example of the type which Antonino presumably approved, and is a work which he very likely knew. The stylistic aspect of his iconographic choices may now appear clear. It is for the Florentine Renaissance form of the Quattrocento, and specifically in its most rational and austere form, the painting of Masaccio and the criticism of Alberti. Filippo Lippi, whom we generally consider a not quite whole-hearted associate of Masaccio's revolution, would feel Antonino's iconographic criticism to some slight extent: one of his many Christ Child figures has a book, and he collaborated on a mild example of the "vain" Adoration of the Magi, while also painting the three-headed *Trinity* but only in a small predella. Domenico Veneziano is still further down the scale in both ways, as has been seen. At the same time, objection to International Gothic nudes and ornaments cannot be read as a conservative approval of the Trecento,

32. *Italian Gothic Sculpture*, London, 1955, p. 54.

33. See the reprint in *Burlington Magazine*, xcvi, 1953, p. 270, and the comments by P. Murray, p. 392, and O. Morisani, p. 269, on the exceptional importance of this phrase. The

former suggests Alberti as the stimulus of Landino's ideas, which would fit well the observations here on the similarities between Alberti and Antonino, and Antonino and Landino.

where Assumptions with St. Thomas and Annunciations with flying children were shown in contrast to their modern rejection. Antonino looked at the Trecento with unexpected detail. It may be that within it he singled out Giotto for approval, since he had abolished the midwives. If so, his view corresponds to what Alberti says³⁴ and what Masaccio paints.

What makes all this noteworthy is the contrast with the most famous secular patron of the age, Cosimo de' Medici. Along with Donatello, he commissioned Benozzo Gozzoli, who produced for his chapel the swan song of Florentine echoes from the International Gothic. Antonino would have disliked it. What is interesting is that Benozzo's old-fashioned style was a failure in Florence; considering that he is a native, it is remarkable that he never got any other commissions in the city, working instead in smaller towns. We may suppose that Cosimo liked its secularity and its snobbish absorption of his banking family into a world of chivalry. Taste was against them and for the modern, coinciding with Antonino's attitude.

During the great period of Florentine innovation, we may deduce, modernity is linked with religious art and secular art is backward looking. We might have observed this by comparing the Brancacci chapel with *cassoni*, or even the fact that unlike Flanders, Florence consigns the portrait to secondary painters up to the 1460's. Antonino tells us more: that an attack on secularity is an attack on the Gothic, and most positively that Masaccio's style is not merely used by accident for religious themes but in its special character embodies a particular kind of religious charge. G. G. Coulton calls Antonino a "Puritan." He is anxious to show that there is nothing very new or Protestant about the "Protestant ethic," and quotes Antonino's attacks on dancing and idleness.³⁵ It is instructive that, unlike other Puritans, Antonino did not condemn painting, but instead found himself part of a movement that created a great style consonant with his attitudes. To take the opposite extreme, this situation may throw an unexpected light on the change in the time of Botticelli, archaic and Gothicizing in style and more secularizing in theme—not by accident, but appropriately.

V

The *raison d'être* of Antonino's instructions to painters has another large and startling implication. "They offend if they show such-and-such a motif" is the burden of most of his text. This statement makes sense only if the painter had responsibility in choosing one motif over another, i.e. iconographic liberty. Since this inference flies in the face of much accepted today, it must be examined carefully. Let it be said at once, there is no supposition that patron, humanist or churchman, never gave minute instructions; the evidence defeats only the view that he always did.

Is it possible that Antonino only condemns painters who acquiesce in their patrons' choice of bad motifs? Since the motifs are religious, the patrons would be churchmen, as was Antonino. For him to upbraid a painter for putting into a painting what had been requested by a churchman who was under Antonino's authority is difficult to swallow. For Antonino to admonish his clergy for their shortcoming is normal.³⁶ Here, moreover, the whole point of the text is clear: as with all the occupations, the painter is being told what he shall do that is right and wrong, first how he shall set his prices, and then (what is certainly closer to the Archbishop's heart) how he shall represent divine themes. His terminology here becomes intense: "offendunt," "reprehensibiles sunt," "nec laudandi sunt." If the foregoing has indicated anything, it is that Antonino's views refer to a real situation. It cannot be held that, as a patron, he was dealing in unrealities here. Finally,

34. Alberti dislikes the Trecento, saying the arts were "lacking and almost entirely lost" before Brunelleschi, but praises Giotto's *Navicella* as a model. (*Della pittura*, ed. cit., pp. 47, 123.)

35. *Five Centuries of Religion*, Cambridge (England), 1,

1929, pp. 533, 538-539.

36. Among other things, he reproves them for their approach to paintings and other church objects—but on a different ground, that of pomp and vanity. (Quoted by Coulton, *Art and the Reformation*, p. 335.)

the consistency with his views on prices is worth mentioning. As an economist, he has shown a situation for the painter's status that involves (a) a new departure from the past, and (b) responsibility. Nothing could be a more concrete fulfillment of this than iconographic freedom.

Even so, Antonino's evidence could be doubted if it stood alone. However, turning again to Alberti we find the same assumption. He gives a conspicuous amount of space to the need for painters to cultivate *inventione*. If this too is an empty piece of advice, it would also differ from the rest of Alberti's discussion.³⁷

Turning from theory to practice, the most fully documented case in the period is certainly that of Ghiberti's Doors of Paradise. It is familiar that Leonardo Bruni prepared a program for it; it is almost equally well known that it was rejected.³⁸ Did another humanist then set up the final version, as writers have generally observed? Not so according to Ghiberti, who claims in his autobiography that he was "given a free hand to execute the door in whatever way I thought it would turn out most perfect." It is generally agreed that he means, not technical or stylistic freedom (which would be assumed in every case and not worth asserting) but iconographic; yet it is also supposed that he was lying. Even if he was, the statement serves to dispose of the view that iconographic freedom never existed because it did not enter into the consciousness of the age. Yet there are excellent reasons for supposing that he told the truth. Some of these are stylistic,³⁹ although correlation of personal style and iconography is a technique generally neglected in this period. Another is the obvious fact that the reader whom Ghiberti hypothesized would have had an opportunity to detect the lie; another is in his text.

Why did Ghiberti make this boast? There seem to be two possible answers. One would be to show that he was given trust by his patron not given to other artists (one out of a thousand cases? one out of two?). The other would be to show that his solution had been preferred to that of an advisor. This interpretation seems more likely, first because it is documented by the Bruni letter, and second because it neatly parallels another statement of Ghiberti. When he boasts that he was given full charge of his first door, we know that he had to deny the rumors put out by the Brunelleschian party. And we know that he was right.⁴⁰

37. *Della pittura*, ed. cit., p. 145. The specific way in which the artist shall approach the literary source is suggested in the example: "Phidias confessed that he had learned from the poet Homer how to paint Jove with much divine majesty." Though the poet as consultant is not excluded, here we have the poet as inspiration. We must therefore treat with doubt the recent view that "'Invention' does not come from history or poetry with Alberti" and the related deductions. (J. Spencer in *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, xx, 1957, p. 36.)

38. See the full discussion now in Krautheimer, *Lorenzo Ghiberti*, Princeton, 1956, pp. 171ff., the source of facts in these two paragraphs not otherwise credited.

39. The shift from the traditional quatrefoils (which Bruni had been ready to use) to the big rectangles is well recognized as a token of Ghiberti's style. Krautheimer hypothesizes that he could have suggested or pled for them with an advisor; there must be more than that, since any iconography is conditioned by them. Again, Krautheimer justly notes that the flow among the incidents in a panel has an antecedent in 14th century Sienese frescoes. It seems likely that few shared Ghiberti's admiration for these works. Yet this arrangement too is antecedent to any iconographic system. Finally, there is in the panels an evolution in iconographic composition from early to late, from a group of equally weighted scenes in the same panel, through a dominant and secondary ones, to a single scene. These are generally treated as having been designed over some time. Hence any iconographic advisor would have had to stand by and revise in line with the growth of Ghiberti's compositional style.

40. Krautheimer suggests two reasons for rejecting Ghiberti's authorship of the plan. First, he points out that he omitted and was vague about the subjects in writing his *Commentarii*. Yet this seems scarcely odder for a man who had worked on executing them for twenty years (as he did) than for a man who planned them. The likely explanation is that he had forgotten or felt little concerned. Second, he points out that the iconography is linked to a novel revival of the early Christian fathers by Traversari, rejecting the Scholastic tradition of writing and imagery. Yet it is also observed that Traversari propagated these views among pupils and issued translations. Could this have been enough of a fashion "in the air" for Ghiberti to absorb? We cannot at least make the usual assumption about the unlettered artist in the case of a man who quotes from numbers of rather obscure mediaeval writers in his third commentaries. Just one motif, the pyramidal ark, seems to be the telling proof of an advisor's presence. Following Wind, Krautheimer tells us that the ark was so described by Origen and by no one else, although various truncated pyramid-like forms are mentioned. Hence it would hardly have been accessible to Ghiberti. But in fact Origen also describes the ark as truncated (1 x 1 cubit at the top), and "all the earlier writers thought of it as pyramidal in shape." (D. C. Allen, *The Legend of Noah*, Urbana, 1949, p. 71.) Thus both the precision and the uniqueness of the connection with Origen disappear. Instead, it emerges that Ghiberti's truly pyramidal ark has no precise literary source; he perhaps developed it under the general stimulus of the writers, and with the architectonic keenness which Krautheimer has demonstrated.

In contrast, no document of the Quattrocento known to me shows collaboration in iconography between a patron or humanist and an artist (as distinguished from the patron's assignment of general theme or title). Much research has been built up on this assumption, but it appears to be an assumption only.

VI

As the free citations of relief sculpture in the iconographic discussion recall, Quattrocento sculpture is a strange omission from Antonino's survey of occupations. It appears instead briefly as an annex to architecture, as follows:

Stone cutters are joined with these, whereof some hew stones and bring them to a rough shape, whence others complete divers works, others carve statues and figures, as marblers also; and these cannot make any frauds in their works, for such works are manifest to all men; yet they can demand an excessive price for their labor; nevertheless, if experts in art esteem the work at such a price, we must believe them.⁴¹

It will be seen that Antonino allows the sculptor the modern form of pricing (unlike the architect)⁴² but with a reluctant bad grace (unlike the painter). But in this brief statement the most interesting factor is the placing of the text. Instead of our familiar triad of painting, sculpture, architecture, Antonino sets up a scheme of painting (with annex on miniatures) and architecture (with annex *a* on masons and *b* on sculptors). This would be less worth inquiry were there not the strange parallel with Alberti, who wrote besides his great books on architecture and painting a brief and not very significant essay on sculpture. The proportions seem similar.

Antonino's case might be explained by his experience at San Marco, where he dealt with painters and architects but no sculptors. Yet that is only part of a broader situation. To explain it demands an embarrassingly elementary presentation, but one which seems not to have been made. It will be agreed that the oldest painters and sculptors who fully belong to the Florentine Renaissance are Brunelleschi (born 1377), Ghiberti (1378), Nanni di Banco (1383), Masolino (1383), and Donatello (1386). All born in a decade, they are overwhelmingly sculptors; the one exception, Masolino, seems to prove the rule, since he will be agreed to have been both a less significant and a less "Renaissance" artist, not to mention the high proportion of his career spent outside Tuscany. By an odd and helpful fatality, the decade 1386-1396 is completely barren of major artists; the minor painters born then reflect older traditions.⁴³

The fertile decade 1396-1406 produced Michelozzo (1396), Uccello (1397), Domenico Veneziano (1400 plus), Luca della Robbia (1400), Angelico (ca. 1400),⁴⁴ Masaccio (1401), and Fra Filippo Lippi (1406). This generation is almost as much monopolized by the five painters. Of the two sculptors, Michelozzo worked under Donatello until he turned largely to architecture, and Luca after his first few years seems to prove the trend by his turn to the glazed terra cotta, perhaps the most "painterly" sculpture ever made. No such limitations apply to the five painters. By another fatality, the years after 1406 are again almost barren; the most important figure is Bernardo Rossellino (1409), another sculptor-architect.⁴⁵ Not until 1420 is there another cluster. Hence while Antonino was writing, a generation of painters was overwhelmingly dominant, following an older generation of sculptors. (This may explain the puzzle of Alberti's preface to his book on painting, in which sculptors are emphasized as "fathers.")

However, in the 1440's the older sculptors were in most cases still alive and working. If the

41. Quoted by Coulton, *Art and the Reformation*, pp. 335-336.

42. For Antonino's very strong views on architecture as a menial craft, see Coulton, *op. cit.*, pp. 83-84.

43. Rossello di Jacopo Franci 1377, Giovanni dal Ponte 1385; likewise the sculptor Bernardo Ciuffagni 1385.

44. On his birth date see now S. Orlandi in *Rivista d'Arte*, XXIX, 1954, pp. 161ff., and W. Cohn, *ibid.*, XXX, 1955, pp. 207ff.

45. There are also Pagno di Lapo Portigiani 1408, Zanobi Strozzi 1412, Vittorio Ghiberti 1416, Domenico di Michelino 1417, Agostino di Duccio 1418.

inquiry is narrowed further, it reveals, I suggest, the following: sculptural commissions were extremely prominent in number, scale, and complexity from 1401 up to the early 1430's. In the later 1430's they declined greatly, in the 1440's reached a low ebb, in the 1450's began to recover, and in the 1460's were restored in number but not in scale.

The famous early commissions, Ghiberti's first Baptistery doors, the over life-size prophets for the cathedral (1408), the four evangelists there, the long series for the niches of Orsanmichele, and the Doors of Paradise (1425) give way to single, smaller statues, smaller reliefs, and fewer of them. Ghiberti was not called on to interrupt the second doors for other large projects as he had the first. Luca, after his first quite conspicuous work in the early 1430's, the *Cantoria*, had two smaller ones later in the decade, and then only his terra cottas; his commission in 1445 for the cathedral sacristy bronze doors was left on paper until 1464, when they were rapidly executed. Michelozzo in the later 1430's abandoned sculpture for architecture, returning for some small works in the 1450's. A young sculptor like Agostino di Duccio, ready to start work about 1440, left Tuscany, but returned in the 1460's. Donatello is the critical case. His one prolonged absence from Florence was the decade 1443-1453. (It is noteworthy that his absence did not bring work to others.) His return did not bring him a great deal; in striking contrast to 1427, his tax return of 1457 reports nothing on hand. The change is great even if, following Janson's warning, we do not take it literally.⁴⁶ Just before he left in 1443, his major work was the reliefs for the sacristy of San Lorenzo, whose "modest scale"⁴⁷ Janson notes. He and others have dated them 1434-1443. The beginning date is based on many arguments; the ending is only suggested on the basis of a long period for chasing the bronze. This carries little conviction when it is recalled that the large figures and complex scenes at San Lorenzo are not in bronze but stucco and terra cotta, and that the much larger bronze project in Padua, just afterwards, is known to have taken a distinctly shorter time. The ending date seems to rest on the fact only that Donatello was not otherwise engaged, and an attempt to account for all his time. The alternative is that Donatello had no projects at the beginning of the 1440's, and left for just that reason. What he did in Padua shows that he had by no means lost his interest in large-scale projects, which he had had no occasion in Florence to produce for ten years.

In the late 1450's, on the other hand, he began work on small, but numerous works there, as did Luca and Agostino, not to mention emerging young sculptors such as Desiderio, Pollaiuolo, and Antonio Rossellino (who did not turn to architecture like his brother). And Alberti's essay *De Statua* is of 1464.

The decline and rise were not produced by economics. The 1440's and 1450's mark the beginnings of the Florentine palazzo form by the Medici, the Pitti, the Rucellai. They suggest, instead, a change of social form and taste, symbolized by Cosimo's rise in 1434 in succession to the guild oligarchy. Public art gives way to private art. The earlier great commissions were given by the overlapping committees of *arti*, *opera*, and *signoria*. The new palazzi called for paintings, and after an interval perhaps needed for reorientation, for the small sculpture (notably including portrait busts) of the 1460's and after. Janson has noted in passing that Donatello had no commissions from public bodies in Florence in his later years.⁴⁸ This throws light on the one largest sculpture in Florence in the 1440's (if the assumed date is correct) the Bruni Tomb of Bernardo Rossellino. Commissioned by the *Signoria*, an isolated monument in new conditions, it is famous for its originality of form.

About 1485 Vespasiano da Bisticci wrote in his life of Cosimo de' Medici that Cosimo cultivated "painting and sculpture" and because "in his time" sculptors had little work, he commissioned from

46. *The Sculpture of Donatello*, Princeton, 1957, II, p. 202.

48. *Op.cit.*, II, p. 205.

47. *Op.cit.*, II, p. 137.

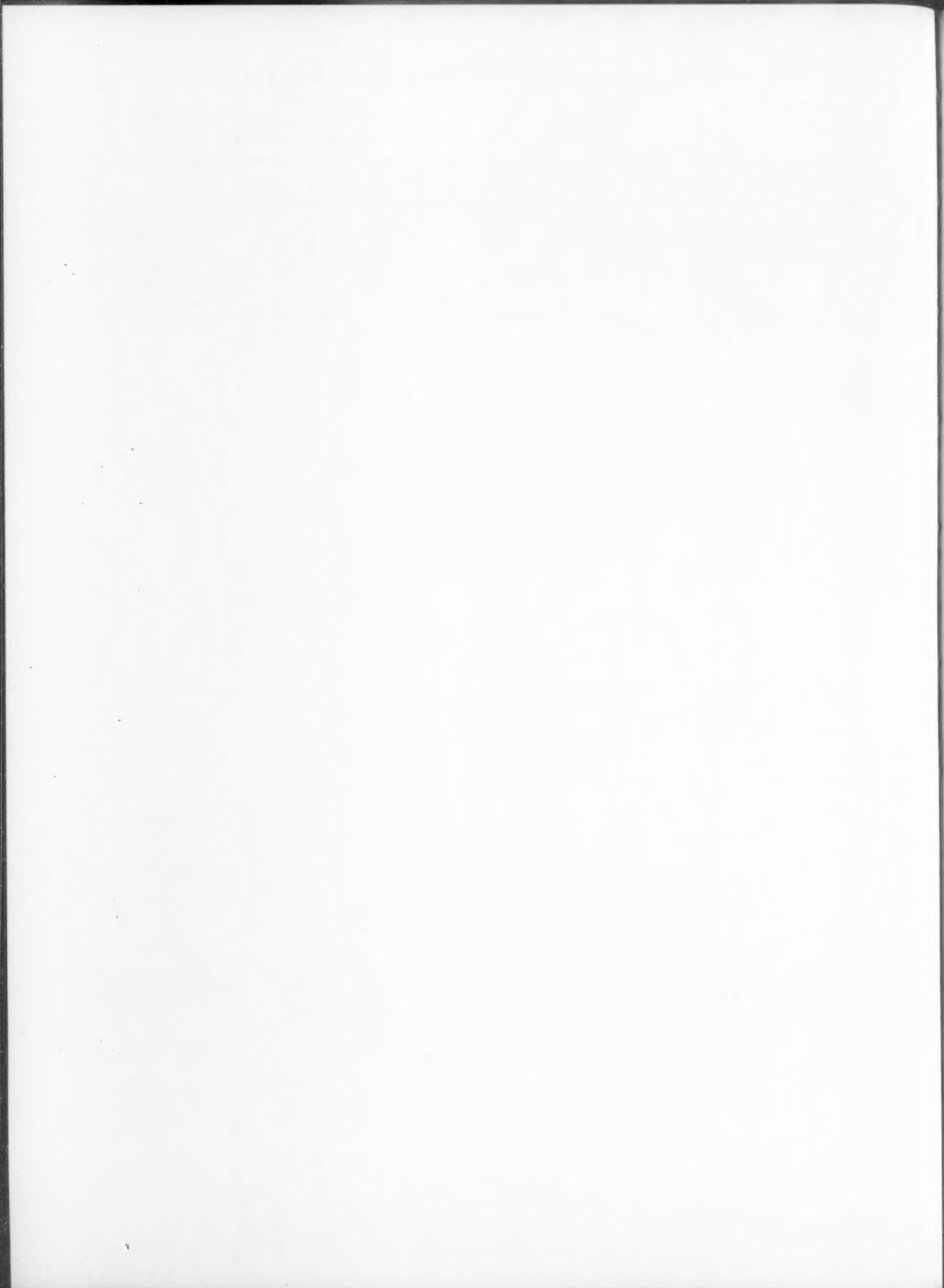
Donatello the sacristy reliefs and pulpits of San Lorenzo. Janson calls the reference to little work absurd, though accepting the biographical evidence; perhaps it seemed a commonplace.⁴⁹ But Vespasiano first spoke of "painting and sculpture" and then of little work for *sculptors*; the precise distinction suggests a fact. And Cosimo's time (1434-1464) corresponds quite well to the pattern just observed. Thus the treatment of sculpture by Alberti and Antonino corresponds again to a real situation.⁵⁰

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49. *Op.cit.*, II, pp. 132-133, 202.

50. Just after completing this study, I learn that Professor Frederick Hartt is investigating other passages of the *Summa*

in relation to painting. If the reader now looks forward to his results as much as I do, this inquiry has achieved its purpose.





1. Gentile da Fabriano, *Nativity*, predella. Florence, Uffizi (photo: Alinari)

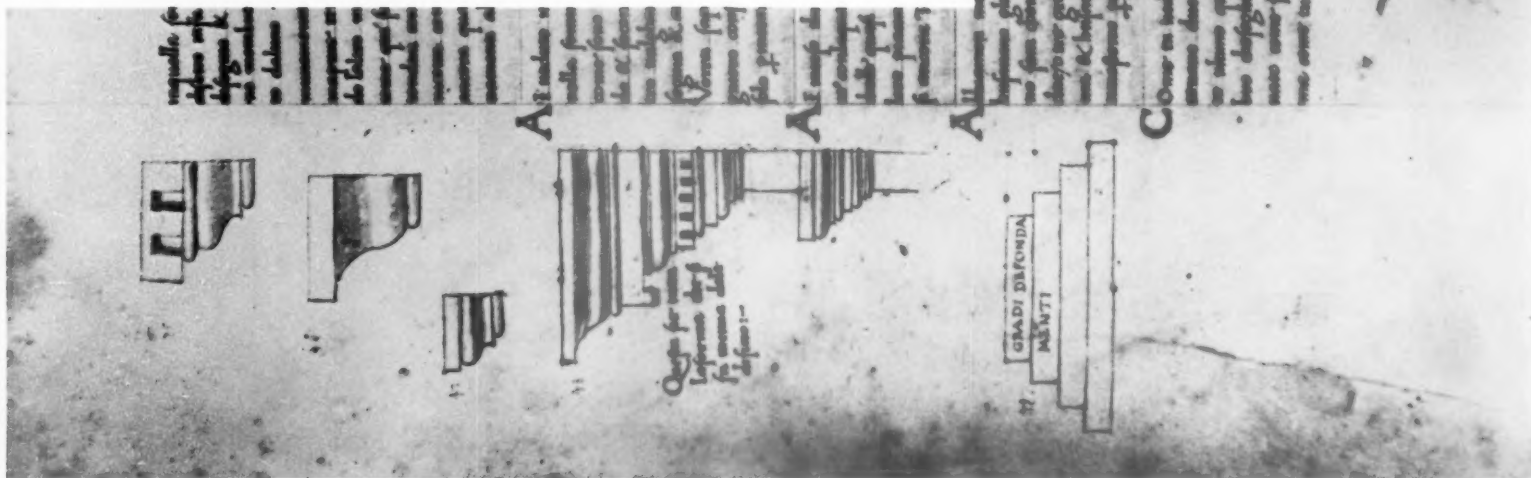


2. Masaccio, *Adoration of the Magi*. Berlin, Kaiser Friedrich Museum

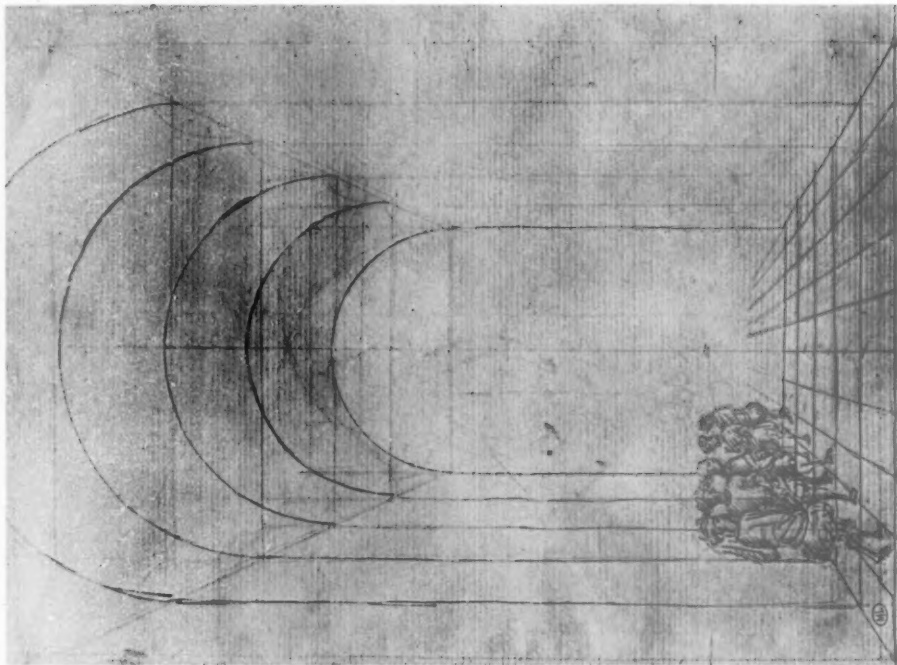


1. Fol. 60r

1-2. Filarete, *Treatise on Architecture*
Florence, Bibl. Naz. Ms II, 1, 140



2. Fol. 63v



3. Pisanello, *Architectural Interior*, Drawing 2520. Paris, Louvre

EARLY RENAISSANCE ARCHITECTURAL THEORY AND PRACTICE IN ANTONIO FILARETE'S *TRATTATO DI ARCHITETTURA**

HOWARD SAALMAN

I

DISCUSSIONS of architectural theory in the fifteenth century usually begin and end with Leon Battista Alberti. His polished humanist Latin, the meticulous organization and scope of details, the sweep of architectural visions and aesthetic convictions of *De re aedificatoria* has excited and fascinated generations of scholars. Next to such exalted music, Antonio Filarete's attempt at architectural theorizing appears to be not only later and lesser, but rather grotesque, if occasionally amusing fiddling. Characteristic of its position within the Quattrocento spectrum is the fact that Antonio's *Trattato di Architettura*, written in the late 1450's and early 1460's, has yet to receive a definitive edition.¹ However, while the *De re aedificatoria* tells us much about Alberti, it is a poor primer of architectural theory and practice as it actually existed in the Early Renaissance. That Alberti's own buildings have only a remote relationship to his stated theoretical views, is a symptom of this discrepancy.

Filarete's book is full of problems, being both related to and at the same time utterly different from both Vitruvius' and Alberti's architectural treatises. Despite its fantastic and grandiose architectural projects, it is considerably more "down to earth." Regardless of its humanist gloss and superficial resemblance to its prototypes, it gives nothing more (or less) than a fairly accurate reflection of the architectural practice of Brunelleschi and other early Renaissance architects, something Filarete himself admits proudly. It is also inextricably tied to preceding Gothic theory and practice.²

Some crucial aspects of organization and content in the Filarete tract tend to demonstrate these observations. The initial motivation for the book (in the person of a strategically placed *ιδιώτης*) suggests the major outlines of Filarete's approach. It is quite unnecessary, this earthy character propounds to a symposium of Quattrocento gentlemen discussing their architectural projects, to know much about "tante ragioni di gemetria & didisegni & molte altre cose . . . Io non cercho tante misure ne tante cose quando fo fare alcuna cosa di murare & nonuo p(er) tanti punti digeumetria quanti dicono costoro & pure stanno bene" (Lib. I, fol. IV). This anti-intellectual point of view is immediately refuted by another "ilquale pareua dipiu grauita nelsuo parlare: . . .

* This study was carried out with the support of a Fulbright Fellowship in Italy, 1956-1958 and supplementary grants from the Institute of Fine Arts, New York University. Brief extracts of this article in Italian appeared in the *Bollettino tecnico degli architetti della Toscana*, 1958, no. 3/4, pp. 13-16. I am grateful to Dr. Bernard Degenhart, Munich, for his aid in procuring a photograph of the Pisanello drawing in Paris. Mr. Francis Booth of the Department of Architecture, Carnegie Institute of Technology, executed the line drawings.

1. W. von Oettingen's edition (*Antonio Averlino Filaretes Tractat über die Baukunst . . .*, in *Quellenschriften für Kunstgeschichte . . .*, New Series, III, Vienna, 1896) does not give the complete text or a diplomatic transcription. A definitive edition of the text and an English translation are now reported to be in preparation. They will fill a long felt need. Further bibliography in J. Schlosser-Magnino, *La letteratura artistica*,

2nd Italian ed. by O. Kurz, Florence-Vienna, 1956, p. 136. Discussion of the codices: M. Lazzaroni and A. Muñoz, *Filarete*, Rome, 1908, pp. 236f. Throughout this paper I am transcribing the text of Biblioteca Nazionale, Florence, MS II, 1, 140 (formerly Cod. Magliab. XVII, 1, 30). The folio numbers refer to this manuscript. The parts in parentheses are solutions of the abbreviations, the parts in brackets are explanatory insertions. I use Oettingen's name, Codex Medici, for B. N. II, 1, 140. See now also J. R. Spencer "Filarete and Central Plan Architecture," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*, XVII, 3, 1958, pp. 10-18.

2. This conclusion was already reached by Robert Dohme in what is still the best short evaluation of the Filarete treatise, "Filaretes Traktat von der Architektur," *Jahrb. d. k.-preuss. Kunstsamml.*, 1, 1880, pp. 225-240.

Non dite così che auolere fare uno hedifitio credo bisogna bene intendere le misure & anche eldisegno come auolere compartire uno casamento o chiesa o altra ragione dedifitio senza dubbio stimo che altrimenti nullo possa fare che bene stia senon a ildisegno & misure . . ." (fol. 1v).

Filarete offers to explain all, stressing that "queste cose sono unpoco scabrose & difficili intendere" (fol. 2r). He alludes to Alberti and Vitruvius and attacks the "modern" (i.e., Gothic) architects who commit "falti" because "none intendono ne misure ne proportioni delle cose chesapartenghono allo hedificare." They need the guidance of an expert who will teach them "il uero" (fol. 2v).

He continues with the generic humanist statement that the right measurements for buildings are derived from the well-proportioned human body and then gives his own variation on the canons of Vitruvius and Alberti. Thereafter he talks about everything including units of measurement, Adam as first architect, buildings as living organisms, about the importance of laying the foundation under the right constellation, etc. One waits in vain, however, for further clarification regarding the proper measurements for buildings and just how such measurements are related to the human body. Filarete himself seems to be aware of this omission, for towards the middle of the second book (fol. 11r) he observes: "Sarebbe forse cosa piu conveniente prima cominciare a tractare imodi: (11v) i quali sidebbono adoperare & ancora anche tempo sidebbono tagliare (pietre) perche siano piu durabili & buono . . . ame parpure douere cominciare inprima a hedificare questa citta. . . ." The equal emphasis given to the *modi* and the quality of the masonry is significant. Filarete then immediately begins with a description of his ideal city. He continues his outline through seven books, detailing the preparations, planning and building of city walls, fortresses, towers, gateways, and the Duomo itself and gives precise measurements for everything throughout. These measurements have no apparent relationship whatever to his canon of human proportions.

In the eighth book Filarete finally arrives at a point where he is willing to reveal the only specific generic "proportione delle cose" which appear in the entire book. In this sense the eighth book assumes a kind of central position since all the others, those leading up to it as well as those following, are descriptive rather than definitive, that is to say, they apply the rules outlined here as well as some others which are never specifically described. Separated by two casually interspersed sections describing the royal palace and the main square of the ideal city, two distinct parts, one dealing with the proportions of columns, capitals, and bases, the other treating the forms and proportions to be used for arches and doors, divide the eighth book between them.

The relationship of the section on columns, capitals, etc. to the Vitruvian and Albertian model is as obvious as are the differences. While Filarete carries the progression Doric, Corinthian, Ionic (paradoxically equivalent to large, medium, and small) consequently through the whole treatise, it is clear that the gradation of sizes (and importance) from large to small means more to him than the antique names which he downgrades throughout.³ The system—like its prototypes—is a modular one based on the diameter of the column, the shaft getting 9, 8, or 7 diameters in order of size. The Corinthian capital gets 1 D, the base one-half D, etc.

The prescription for arches and doors, however, is of a completely different genre. The significant text (in translation) follows:

. . . without saying another word, (the prince) asked me how the arch should be made, what its origin was, and in what form it is most beautiful and strong, since it must support a great load; also concerning the portals, which are more beautiful, the rectangular (*quadre*) or the round, and according to what measure they should be made so that they might be better proportioned (*ragionevole*) than in any other form.

My lord, your Grace demands no small thing. I will tell you what I have heard about it.⁴

3. Bk. VIII, fol. 56r: "Questi uocabuli antichi lui [Vitruvius] gliusa. Io non uegli uoglio dire p(er)che sono scabrosi & non susano Io ui diro pure enomi chesusano oggi di." Cf. Oet-

tingen, *op.cit.*, p. 694, note to p. 112.

4. (fol. 58v-59r) ". . . senza altre cose dirmi [il principe] midomanda come sidee fare larcho & chefu lasua origine &

After an argument for round arches (the round are better because pointed arches impede continuous vision) Filarete comes to the essence of the matter and a generic proportional formula for arches and portals (the latter of which can be either rectangular or arched) (Fig. 1):

... The doors can be either rectangular (*quadre*) or arched (*mezze tonde*). However, the Ancients used mainly the rectangular and in private buildings I have never seen other than rectangular. It is true that city gates like those at Rome are always arched. The measure of the portals is according to three proportions (*ragioni*). Come tomorrow and I will tell you the proportions they require, proportions (*modi*) which the Ancients used; likewise the form and proportions of the arches.

Coming the following day he was received with great respect. He asked me the proportions and kinds (*ragioni e modi*) of the arches and portals and how they should be made so that they would stand up well. I felt obliged to answer his question. I replied, my lord, I will try to satisfy your demand. In the first place, with regard to the proportions of the portals, i.e., the relationship of width to height, I will tell you their form. As I have said, they can be of three kinds (*ragioni*) of measure just like the columns and other membering of which we have spoken. These depend on the place where they are to be built, i.e., according to the various locations (or applications) so they require (various) measures. They are made with two squares (*a due quadri*), with one square and one-half (*a uno e mezzo*), with the diameter of one square (*a uno diametro*). Thus they have three proportions. Likewise the arches which have the same proportions, i.e., Doric, Ionic and Corinthian, namely with one square and one-half (*a uno quadro e mezzo*), with the diameter of one square (*a uno quadro diametro*), and with the diameter of two squares (*a due quadri il diametro*). You have already heard how these measures are taken from the square. . . . The ornaments, however, have many and varied proportions . . . and those which are best suited should be used. . . .⁵

The formulae presented are evidently of great importance to the author. He leads up to them with repeated circumlocutions. Before revealing them he uses the suspense of the interval to renew his argument for the "stile all'antica." Realizing that this is more a matter of taste than of rule or reason, he adds:

... you may say that the pointed arches are also strong and sufficient. That is true. But as long as you make the round arch, i.e., the half round (*mezzo tondo*) with good shoulders, it also is strong. To tell you the truth, I have seen huge round arches in Rome standing solidly, particularly in the Baths (of Diocletian) and the Antoniana (Baths of Caracalla) and in many other buildings.⁶

In a word, the pointed arches are probably stronger but ugly. Any slight defect in structural strength of round arches is compensated by their beauty. Antique monuments bear him witness. These *modi* were revived by Filippo di Ser Brunelleschi "degnissimo architetto e sottilissimo."

inche forma & piu bello & piu forte auendo areggiare uno grande peso & cosi le porti quali sono piu belle o quadre o to(n)de & ache misura sidebbono fare che sia piu ragioneuole che ueruno altro modo.

Signiore lauostra Signoria non domanda poco. Io quello no sentito uene diro."

5. (fol. 60r) "... Le porti possono ess(er)e quadre & anche possono ess(er)e mezze tonde Ma pure gliantichi lusauano lamaggiore parte quadre & nelli hedificij priuati no(n)ne uidi mai senon quadre. Vero e che importe dicitta come chesono a Roma sono tonde tutte. Lamisura delle porti sono ditte ragioni. Siche uenite domani & io uidiro leragioni cheuoglio auere & glimodi che husauano gliantichi & cosi degli archi laloro forma & modi: Venendo ildi seguente lui con grande sollecitudine fu allora husata & domandomi leragioni & modi degli archi & porte come sidebbono fare & che stieno bene domandando mi di questo a me fu forza sodisfarlo alla sua domanda Rispuosi Signiore alla uostira adomanda io uiuoglio sodisfare imprima alle ragioni cheuogliono ess(er)e le porti cioe lalarghezza alla altezza uidiro laforma come o detto possono ess(er)e ditte ragioni dimisure come sono ancora le colonne o altri membri antedetti & queste ancora seco(n)do eluoghi doue sifanno chesecundo illuogho cosi richieghono lamisura & fannosi adue quadri . auno &

mezzo . auno diametro & cosi sono ditte ragioni dimisure cosi gliarchi ancora anno queste medesime ragioni dimisure cioe /dorico/ ionico & corintho cioe auno quadro & mezzo & auno quadro diametro & adue quadri il diametro che auete inteso dinanzi come sipiglia dalquadro . . . Ma gliornamenti sono di piu ragioni & uarie . . . & quegli che piu uipiaceranno quelli huserete. . . ."

6. (fol. 59v) "... tu potresti dire questi acuti sono pur forti & sufficienti eglie uero ma sefai: larco tondo cioe mezzo tondo che abbi buone spalle lui ancora e forte & (fol. 60r) che sia uero Io/o pure ueduti a Roma archi tondi & grandi & stare forti:—& maxime interme & nellantoniana & i(n)molti altri hedifici." Filarete's opinion sounds like an echo of the advice given sixty years earlier by Jean Mignot to the builders of the cathedral of Milan: "aliquos ygnorantes allegantes quod voltae acutae sunt plus fortes et cum minori onere quam voltae retoundae . . . Dictus magister Johannes dicit quod ars sine scientia nihil est, et quod siue voltae sint acutae siue retoundae non habendo fundamentum bonum nihil sunt, et nihilominus quamvis sint acutae habent maximum onus et pondus." Cf. J. S. Ackerman, "Ars Sine Scientia Nihil Est", Gothic Theory of Architecture at the Cathedral of Milan," ART BULLETIN, XXXI, 1949, p. 109.

They may be seen (he reminds Piero de' Medici in the dedication of the Biblioteca Nazionale Codex) in San Lorenzo and San Marco.

When the moment of revelation finally comes after the Prince has had another night of rest and preparation for matters "scabrose," the text suddenly takes on the appearance of a sacred ritual, a masonic incantation. While punctuation is generally lacking throughout the manuscript, the first group of proportions is prominently set off by points. The formulae follow one another without the otherwise abundant conjunctions, like rules learned by rote and recited mechanically.

These formulae deserve particular notice. Here and throughout the book, Filarete visualizes architectural proportions in terms of geometrical forms. *A due quadri* is, of course, equivalent to the 2:1 proportion. *A uno quadro e mezzo* is $1\frac{1}{2}$:1. Von Oettingen⁷ interpreted these two correctly. He went wrong, however, when he read *a uno diamitro* (same as *a uno quadro diamitro*) as 1:1. This proportion must be read as $\sqrt{2}$:1, the "diamitro" being the diagonal of the square.⁸ *A due quadri il diamitro* is $\sqrt{5}$:1, the diagonal of a 2:1 rectangle to the shorter side. The simplicity and picturesque expressiveness of proportions in terms of the geometrical forms they represent makes them the ideal terminology of the masons' workshops. The ubiquity of this type of geometrical proportions in architectural treatises through the seventeenth century has been somewhat overlooked while recent attention has focused on the "musical" proportions which entered into the mediaeval vocabulary with Macrobius, Boethius, and Vitruvius.⁹ While terms like *diapason*, *sesquialtera* and *diatesseron* handled themselves easily in the writings of humanistically trained theorists like Alberti, Caesariano, and Palladio, and while Filarete did not fail to take over Vitruvius' admonition on the importance of musical studies for the architect, it is nevertheless more than likely that the geometrical terminology was the give-and-take of the workshop and the building site.

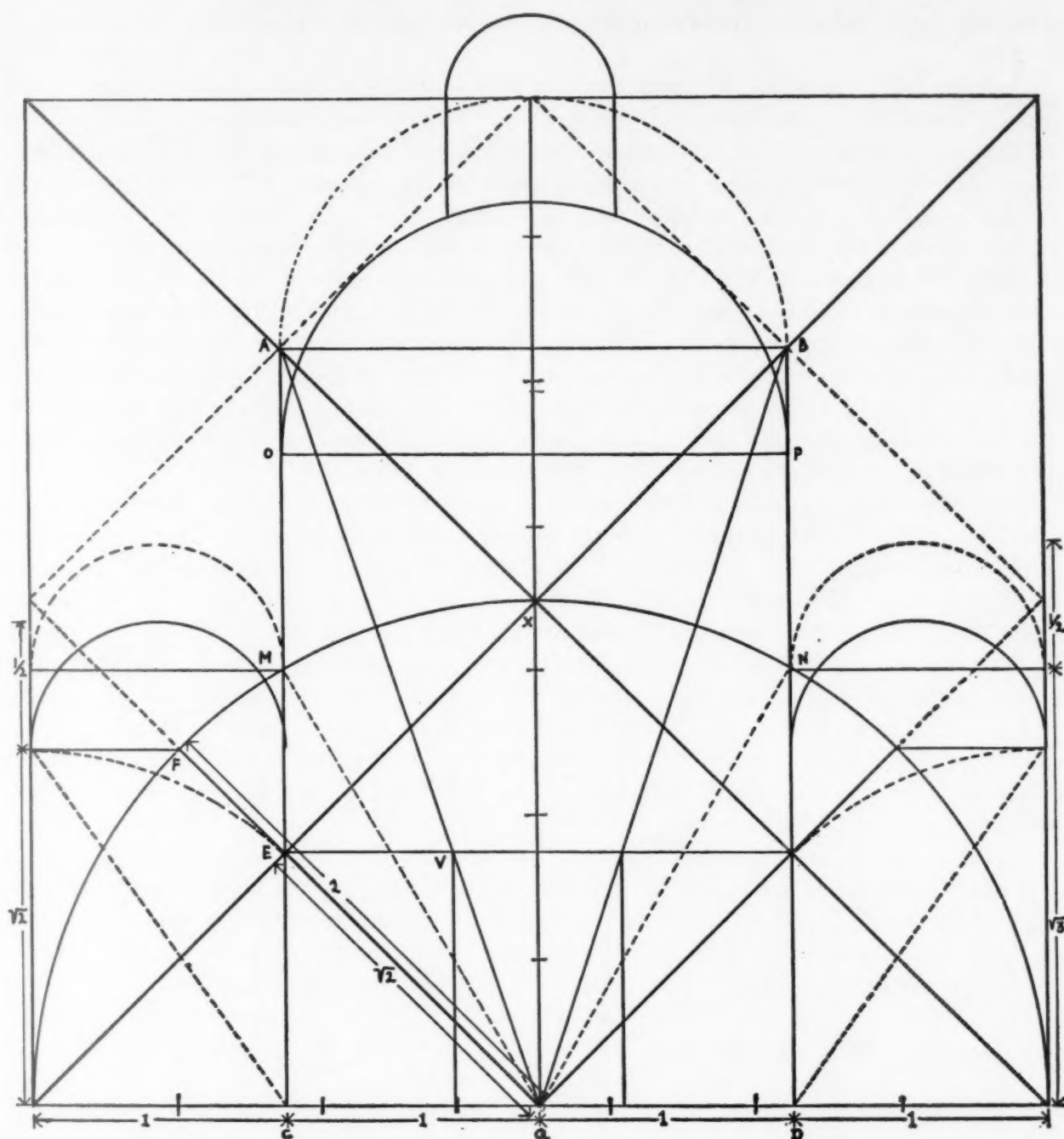
Filarete suggests that it is obvious to all how these proportions are "taken from the square." The procedure to which he refers, however, has implications which go beyond the draftsman's drawing board. Let us, for a moment only, consider the classical mediaeval church plan. A square crossing, flanked by square transept wings and possibly a square choir, with or without apse, continues in a nave with side aisles one-half the width of the nave. Each side aisle bay consists of a square one-quarter the size of the crossing square, each nave bay is a two-to-one rectangle with sides respectively equal to side aisle bay and crossing square. This very plan is the system

7. *Op.cit.*, p. 275.

8. Cf. L. B. Alberti, *De re aedificatoria*, I, 12, Paris ed., 1512, fol. xv v: "Quae vero humiliores [hostia] altitudine(m) habeant *diametri* eius q(ua)drati cui(us) sit latus ima hostij ipsius latitudo." See also *Della pittura*, ed. L. Mollé, Florence, 1950, p. 73.

9. E.g. Ascanio Condivi in his 1553 description of Michelangelo's original project for the Tomb of Julius II (Vasari, ed. Carl Frey, *Le Vite di Michelangelo Buonarroti*, . . . , 1887, pp. 66f. Cf. E. Panofsky, "The First Two Projects of Michelangelo's Tomb of Julius II," *ART BULLETIN*, XIX, 1937, pp. 561f., p. 562 n. 3). So still Vincenzo Scamozzi in his *L'idea della architettura universale*, Venice, 1615, e.g., Part II, 6, xiii. It is symptomatic of the terminological variation with which this architectural system functioned in various centers that Francesco di Giorgio Martini consistently treats *uno diametro* as equivalent to *uno quadro*. Cf. his *Trattato di architettura civile e militare*, ed. C. Saluzzo and C. Promis, Turin, 1841, p. 234. But he also suggests the proportions $\sqrt{2}$ and $\sqrt{5}$ for elevations (Saluzzo-Promis, pp. 179f.; Biblioteca Nazionale, Florence, Codex II, 1, 141, fols. 16v, 22r et al.). On fols. 40v/41r of the Florentine codex (ed. Saluzzo-Promis, text vol. I, p. 198, plate vol., pl. III, fig. 5: crudely drawn) Francesco di Giorgio presents an ideal church elevation (cf. note 28 below) (Fig. 9 and text fig. 1) based entirely on

geometric construction and resulting—in Filarete's terminology—in *due quadri* minus *modulo* (see below) for the nave and *quadro diametro e mezzo quadro* for the side aisles. Francesco also provides a possible variation for the side aisle which is difficult to express in geometrical terms, but equal to $\sqrt{3} + \frac{1}{2}$ with the width of the side aisle equal to 1. As a means of variation Francesco introduces a curious module system. Its purely approximate accuracy is another illustration of the difficulty of working with geometrical constructions and rational units and fractions at one time. Francesco divides the width of his church into four equal parts of which the side aisles are allotted one each. He does not consider wall or pier thicknesses. He now states that his module EF goes seven times into the total width of his church ("perche il diametro della base ouero latitudine di tuctto iltempio sitroui parti sette del modulo EF"). If each of the four equal units is given a value of 1, the line FQ equals 2; while EQ, being the diagonal of a square with the side 1, equals $\sqrt{2}$. Thus EF equals $2 - \sqrt{2}$ or 0.586. In other words, the module goes 6.82 . . . times into 4 or almost seven times: close enough for the Quattrocento. A little bit of distortion makes everything come out even! For Francesco see now also H. Millon, "The Architectural Theory of Francesco di Giorgio," *ART BULLETIN*, XL, 1958, pp. 257-261.



1. Francesco di Giorgio, Elevation of an Ideal Church, Explanatory Scheme

of the Brunelleschi churches. If the nave arcades are to be "a due quadri diamitro" (as they are in the Brunelleschi system) and the distance from the pavement to the springing point of the main crossing arch "a uno quadro diamitro," making the total arch "a uno quadro diamitro e mezzo quadro" (another characteristic of Brunelleschi's buildings), the masons could, in fact, take these basic measurements—which effectively determine all essential dimensions of the elevation—from the ground plan itself. A string run diagonally across one nave bay ($\sqrt{5}:1$) and one across the crossing square ($\sqrt{2}:1$) would give the desired measurements with greatest accuracy. In fact, once the size of the main crossing square has been decided upon and the proportions to be used for the nave and crossing arches have been selected from the small repertory, the masons could proceed to build without further instructions and actually without plans and measurements. Consid-

ering the limited schooling available to artisans and workers, the advantages of this system are evident.

Once the full implications of this method are understood, an obscure episode in the so-called Manetti *Vita di Brunelleschi*¹⁰ takes on new meaning. "Filippo," says the author of the *Vita*, "fece un disegno (of Santo Spirito), insul quale erano fondamenti solo dello edifitio, et con quello, a bocca, disse loro, com'egli riuscirebbe rilevato; donde piacendo loro, e' gli dettono commissione, che facesse o facesse fare un modello di legname braccia piccole. . . ." How was it possible to explain the elevation of a church from the groundplan alone and in terms which the laymen on the building commission of Santo Spirito could understand? In terms of the proportions inherent in the groundplan which fixed all major dimensions of the building, the matter was simple indeed.¹¹

Another illustration of what the Filarete formulae meant in fifteenth century practice is furnished by an almost unique surviving architectural drawing in the Louvre (Fig. 3), attributed to Pisanello.¹² This view of what could well be a Quattrocento church interior (e.g., the Badia in Fiesole) is usually cited as a classical example of an early Renaissance architectural perspective constructed according to the instructions in Alberti's *Della pittura*.

One problem inherent in the drawing has, however, not drawn the attention of previous students, namely, just how did the artist determine the distance from the pavement to the springing point of the barrel vault? Closer examination of the drawing reveals that the extreme front and rear verticals on either side are divided into fourteen almost equal parts by a series of points corresponding to the unit division of the horizontals. Since each of these units represents one braccio (each of the men in the drawing is three braccia units high—following Alberti's suggestion), the distance to the springing of the vault is fourteen braccia. This dimension was not chosen at random. The numerical equivalent of $\sqrt{2}$ is 1.414. The distance to the springing point of the vault represents the length of the diagonal of a square built on the interior width of ten braccia, rounded off to a convenient whole number.¹³ The total height (equivalent to the Brunelleschi system) is *uno quadro diamitro e mezzo quadro*.

Two elements needed proportioning in early Renaissance architecture: the solid parts, and the spaces which the solid parts articulate or enclose. Since, in effect, Quattrocento buildings in Florence consisted of nothing but arches, columns, pilasters, walls, and a few connecting elements, all key points in their elevations could be determined by the simple geometrical and modular formulae which form the heart of the system Filarete describes in his *Trattato*.

The application of this geometrical-modular method of architectural design in actual practice in Brunelleschi's buildings deserves more than cursory mention.¹⁴ Its presentation in detail must

10. A. Manetti, *Vita di Brunelleschi*, ed. E. Toesca, Florence, 1927, pp. 78f.

11. Filarete (Bk. II, fol. 111r) describes an identical procedure. (Cf. also W. Lotz, "Das Raumbild in der italienischen Architekturzeichnung der Renaissance," *Mitt. d. kunsth. Inst. Florenz*, VII, 1956 [hereafter cited as "Lotz, Raumbild"], p. 197.) First he, together with his patron, conceives an idea for a building (literally, "prima generare l'edificio . . ."). Then he makes a plan drawing ("uno disegno in lineamento secondo che vanno i fondamenti . . ."). This is approved. Then he orders material for the foundations. With the plan dimensions already decided, irrevocably in view of the investment in materials, he makes a wooden model ("mentre si pena apparecchiare queste cose opportune per lo fundamento d'essa, faro il sopradetto modello o uoi dire disegno rilevato"). As at Milan (cf. J. S. Ackerman, *op.cit.*, p. 89) the elevation dimension might yet be altered even after the foundations have been laid. The identical procedure in these two cases suggests that the wooden model was not necessary for the actual execution of the building at all. Cf. Excursus below.

12. Last published and discussed by Wolfgang Lotz ("Raumbild," pp. 195f.).

Contrary to Dr. Lotz's interpretation, I think that this drawing should be considered both an "architectural drawing" and an "interior."

13. For similar simplifications, see our discussion p. 98 below. Cf. also Erwin Panofsky's discussion of the conversion of "unitates" into "quantitates" in Stornaloco's formula for the determination of the height of Milan cathedral ("An Explanation of Stornaloco's Formula," postscript to P. Frankl, "The Secret of the Mediaeval Masons," *ART BULLETIN*, XXVII, 1945, pp. 61-64. As Panofsky explained, the purpose of Stornaloco's formula was precisely "to circumvent the process of extraction of roots and to replace it by a simple process of multiplication and division." In the Pisanello drawing the problem is simpler but similar: how to reduce the irrational *quantitas*, i.e., the distance 10 braccia times $\sqrt{2}$ into an even number of braccia *unitates*.

14. Cf. the earlier remarks on this subject by P. Sanpaulesi, "Ipotesi sulle conoscenze matematiche statiche e mechaniche del Brunelleschi," *Belle Arti*, 1951, pp. 25f., and the recent article by D. Nyberg, "Brunelleschi's Use of Proportion in the Pazzi Chapel," *Marsyas*, VII, 1957, pp. 1f.

be reserved to a later discussion. One of its aspects, however, should be considered here since it is fundamental to an understanding of some of the "peculiarities" in Filarete's schemes and early Renaissance architecture in general.

It is apparent from Filarete's method of separate presentation and obvious from the formulae themselves that the proportions determining the solid membering, i.e., the columns and pilasters, are inherently unrelated to those fixing the specific height of arches.¹⁵ The height of the columns and pilasters depends on the shaft diameter. The clear height of an arch is determined by the clear intercolumniation.¹⁶ In the case of the proportions *uno quadro diamitro* and *due quadri diamitro* the result is *incommensurable*, i.e., it cannot be expressed in so-and-so many column diameters or even fractions thereof. It would, thus, be miraculous indeed if ten times any given diameter would neatly determine a point identical with the springing point of a semicircular arch whose apex is fixed by e.g., *due quadri diamitro* (2.236) times any particular clear intercolumniation. There is, in fact, only *one* possible clear intercolumniation which will coincide with any one given diameter. Given an incommensurable arch proportion, the intercolumniation will result in an irrational number if the column diameter is a round number and vice versa. Difficulties of this kind appear again and again in Filarete's building descriptions, although in his text, at least (but not in his text illustrations!), he prefers arch proportions like *uno quadro e mezzo* and *due quadri*. In everyday architectural practice it would have obviously been most practical to work with round number measurements for *both* column diameters *and* intercolumniations, e.g., to instruct the stonemasons to deliver shafts of, say, $1\frac{1}{2}$ braccia diameter and to have the workers lay out intervals of, e.g., 10 braccia with strings, erecting the column shafts over the center post driven at these intervals while deriving the clear height of the arch from the clear intercolumniation remaining, again by a simple string measurement, and so forth. But how to make the "loose ends" meet? Filarete resolves the discrepancies resulting from the two inherently unrelated proportions by the simple expedient of inserting pedestals under the columns and imposts between the capitals and arches. These smaller elements are not fixed by rigid proportions in the early Renaissance: "gliornamenti sono di piu ragioni & varie . . . & quegli che piu uipiaceranno quelli huserete. . ." While Filarete apparently had at least a superficial knowledge of Vitruvius, he was not interested in the intricate Vitruvian system of proportioning smaller members. Naming the parts and showing their shape in an illustration was sufficient. When he comes to the main entablature (Book IX, fol. 63v) (Fig. 2) he informs his Prince: ". . . le misure timosterro in quella chedisegniero consuoi hornamenti bastiti al presente . . ." and never comes back to the point again.

A good example of this method at work in Filarete's treatise is his elevation of the center nave of each arm of his centrally planned Duomo (Bk. VII, fol. 51r) (Fig. 4). He apparently decided to begin by determining that the elevation to the main entablature should be 50:50, the total length of each arm. This he divides into two equal arches (height to width, 50:25). He breaks each 25 br. arch up into three yet smaller arches, each consisting of a 16 br. column set

15. This distinction between "organic" and "abstract" proportions was first made by James S. Ackerman in his pioneering article, *op.cit.*, to which, as well as to the earlier studies by Überwasser, Frankl, and Panofsky this author owes not a few of his ideas. Of W. Überwasser's various publications I should like to call attention to the lesser known report "Beiträge zur Wiedererkennung gotischer Baugesetzmässigkeiten," *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte*, VIII, 1939, pp. 303-309 and his prophetic warning: "Die Vorgänge des Messens müssen doch wohl völlig andere gewesen sein, als wie wir es meinen, wenn uns der Zirkel in einer noch so wenig entwickelten Proportionsvorstellung gebannt an die Fläche eines bezeichneten oder bedruckten Stückes Papiers haften bleibt. So werden wir nie in die Masse gotischen Bauens eindringen." (See also R. Bran-

ner's observations in his various recent reviews in the *ART BULLETIN* and the *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* and his article "Drawings from a Thirteenth Century Architect's Shop. The Reims Palimpsest," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*, XVII, 4, 1958, pp. 9-21.

16. Spatial proportions in treatises of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries are *always* "in luce." This fact has occasionally been overlooked because the *plan* measurements (see, e.g., Giuliano da Sangallo's plan of Santo Spirito, C. Huelsen, *Il libro di Giuliano da Sangallo*, Leipzig, 1910, pl. 16) are sometimes *axial*. I will demonstrate in later studies that Brunelleschi worked with "in the clear" proportions for his elevations even when laying out plan units axially.

on a 10 br. pedestal plus the arch. He subtracts twice 2 br. (the width of the two inserted columns) from 25. This leaves him 7 br. intercolumniations and consequently $3\frac{1}{2}$ br. arches which, with $1\frac{1}{2}$ br. thick archivolt brings him to an elevation of 31 br. $2\frac{1}{2}$ br. added for the cornice leaves him just $1\frac{1}{2}$ br. short of the desired 35 br. to the springing point of his 25 br. arcade arches. A $1\frac{1}{2}$ br. impost, conveniently inserted (as in Brunelleschi's church arcades) solves the difficulty without the necessity of stretching any of the other parts.¹⁷ A stilted 15 br. high arch (over a 25 br. intercolumniation!) brings him to 50 br. And so it goes on till 150 br. are reached at the ball crowning the cupola.

Interesting are the means by which the classical membering is made to fit into the preconceived abstract elevation proportions. The larger outer pilasters and the fat column in the center present no difficulty because they are *giganti* which have "varij modi." The smaller columns between are given an 8:1 proportion which would make them "Ionic" or "piccholo." In order to give the columns their desired proportion and yet fit them into the required space, they must be placed on 10 br. high pedestals while the imposts breach the final gap. Each part added has not only its own more or less fixed "ragione," but is a building stone indispensable for reaching elevations determined by quite unrelated proportions, sometimes incommensurable proportions. The "squeeze," the "stretch" and the "fill" bring the house, so to speak, under one roof.

Von Oettingen, who never failed to note Filarete's arithmetical "errors" and other "lapses" (particularly in his Latin quotations), observed¹⁸ that Filarete always "forgets" to consider the mass of his piers in calculating the clear widths. This fact is at least as revealing as it is apparently strange. Filarete (like Brunelleschi) usually began his calculations by treating the piers as so many points on his plan (or pegs on his building site), e.g., in his plan of a Franciscan church (fol. 77r) (Fig. 5). But he is entirely inconsistent about this. Sometimes he considers pier widths, sometimes not, usually all in the same description. In the Duomo elevation he arrived at the 7 br. span of his small arcades by subtracting the two inserted column widths (2 br. each) from 25 br., leaving him 21 to be divided by 3. The fact that he entirely omits accounting for the two outer half columns or pilasters which must receive the small arches does not disturb him in his description although he shows them in his text illustration.

II

It is inevitable that "all'antica" buildings set up in this way have a character all of their own. The conflict between inherently different kinds of proportions did not exist in this way for earlier architects. A capital at Milan, e.g., could be $\frac{1}{2}$:1, 2:1 or 4:1 and still work out all right.¹⁹ It was mainly a question of northern versus southern taste. The early fifteenth century architect in Florence, however, found himself inescapably with his architectural system in crisis. Obviously desiring to give his buildings an antique flavor, he could be flexible, but not *that* flexible. Some sort of "modular" proportions for the membering, no matter how crude or simplified, were neces-

17. Heydenreich (L. H. Heydenreich, "Pius II als Bauherr von Pienza," *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte*, VI, 1937, pp. 105-146) has brought attention to a similar procedure in Rossellino's Cathedral of Pienza. Having, at Pius' insistence, developed a project closely adhering to the type of Stethaimer hall-churches for which Piccolomini had developed a taste during his years in Germany, Rossellino was faced with the problem of bringing the long piers necessary for the support of the vaults into some satisfactory relationship with prevailing Italian standards of "modular" proportions. His compromise solution was the adoption of a high impost on the model of the Cathedral of Siena. Pius, with a revealing lack of classicizing purism and an equally revealing appreciation for the in-

herent conflict of Early Renaissance architecture, regarded this difficulty as a "gratus operis error" (*Commentarii*, IX), since it gave the architect an opportunity to enhance the building with additional "varietas": "Architectus fundatis basibus, cum columnas quatuor habentes facies hemicycleas superduxisset, et capitula imposuisset: animadvertit fornices minus, quam par esset sublimitatis habituras, erexitque super capitulis quadratas septem pedum columnas, et altera superaddidit capitella, quibus testudinum arcus inniterentur; gratus operis error, et ipsa varietate decorem afferens. . . ."

18. Oettingen, *op.cit.*, note 8 to page 232 on pp. 708f.

19. Cf. J. S. Ackerman, *op.cit.*, p. 106.

sary to give at least the appearance of "all'antica" architecture. The time had not come, however, when the Gothic system of geometrical proportions could simply be abandoned. Neither a science of statics developed over centuries and based on convictions regarding the importance of fixed geometrical proportions for structural stability nor a generations-old tradition of masons' workshop procedure could be discarded as long as new humanist currents had given a new direction, but as yet no new science or method to architecture.²⁰

The close theoretical interconnection of structural form and structural stability in mediaeval architecture, a connection that has nothing to do with "functionalism," has been the subject of some recent important discussions.²¹ This nexus of form and statics, basic to an understanding of mediaeval architectural theory, was still a flourishing factor in early Renaissance architecture in Florence. Some passages from the Pseudo-Manetti *Vita di Brunelleschi*—our best source not only to Brunelleschi's work, but also to architectural currents in Florence in the middle of the fifteenth century—illustrate the intimate connection between *bellezza* and *fortezza*:

(*Vita di Brunelleschi*, ed. Toesca, p. 54): "... e con questi modi e molti altri si portò in tal forma che venne al fine della cupola con grandissima *bellezza e fortezza* e comodi per tutti e casi e rispiarmi dell'Opera, e senza alcuno mancamento ..."

(p. 58): "... nelle cose di Filippo ... nulla s'è rimutato che non gli sia *tolto di bellezza*, cresciuto di spesa e buona parte *indebolito gli edificj* ed impediti della loro necessità ..."

(p. 67): "... Filippo ... faceva le cose sue con molte e varie *considerazioni* intorno alle *adornezze e fortezze* che quivi non n'è nessuna ... perchè el lavoro crebbe di spesa, *mancò di bellezza* ... e di *proporzioni di corpi e accrebbe di peso assai più che non si conveniva a' pilastri* che l'sopportano ..."

Compare this with Filarete: "... come sidee fare l'arco ... & inche forma & *più bello & più forte* auendo, *areggere uno grande peso* ... come sidebbono fare & che stieno bene ..."²²

The similarity is probably due not so much to the fact that the author of the Brunelleschi *Vita* read Filarete (or that both had read Alberti and/or Vitruvius) as to the more general circumstance that they shared a similar understanding of the major problems of Quattrocento architecture, problems to which apparently simple geometrical proportions, combined with an *all'antica* vocabulary offered the solution. An arch, the determining form in the kind of buildings Brunelleschi, Michelozzo, Alberti and Filarete built, was *forte* just because it was *bello*, and it was beautiful because it was founded on *geometria* and mirrored antique architecture. That this was not the only thing necessary to make a building stand up was clear to everybody at the time, hence the emphasis on good old-fashioned workshop experience ("una loro pratica," says Filarete) in the making of bricks, mortar, foundations, etc.²³ That Filarete connects the square to the human body (more or less following Vitruvius), attacks the incompetence of the "modern" architects

20. This is true, I think, in spite of the "anti-scientific" pronouncements of the Milanese architects in the disputes of the 1390's. Filarete's tract, written by an architect whose main experience was gained in Milan, would seem the best illustration.

21. Cf. particularly the literature cited in notes 13 and 15 above. A summary of this material and an extensive bibliography on the subject is contained in O. von Simson, *The Gothic Cathedral*, New York, 1956.

22. These passages reflect a trend of thought basic to Gothic architectural theory. Cf., e.g., the deliberations of the *operai* of Santa Maria del Fiore (C. Guasti, *Santa Maria del Fiore*, Florence, 1887, hereafter cited as "Guasti SMF"), particularly p. 167: "... che [la cappella maggiore] si faccia alta alla misura che di ragione dee essere"; or p. 174: "... che il disegno [della chiesa] facto per li dotti maestri e depintori è *più bello e più utile e forte* per ogni ragione, che niun'altro."; or p. 103: "... deliberarono la detta nuova colonna fatta per Franciescho essere *più forte e bella e laudabile*." Dr. Ackerman was kind enough to call my attention to a similar passage in the Milan documents (Ackerman, "Gothic Theory ...," p. 109 bottom: "*alia vero pro fortitudine et pulchritudine ti-*

borii ..."). Such passages could be duplicated many times in the documents of French, German, English, and Italian workshops, but another Italian document is of particular interest because of its relatively late date: Bramante's written opinion of June 27, 1490, concerning the *tiburio* of Milan cathedral (Text: *Annali della fabbrica del duomo di Milano*, Milan, 1877f., II, pp. 62-64.) Bramante, a product of his age, felt that the tambour must fulfill four imperatives: "la prima si è *forteza*, la seconda conformita cun el resto del edificio, la terza legiereza, la quarta et ultima *belleza*." Regarding the second and third imperative, it might be said that they are essentially aspects of the last. This interesting document deserves a more cogent discussion than O. Förster (*Bramante*, Vienna-Munich, 1956, pp. 134f.) has given it. See also E. Panofsky, "Das erste Blatt aus dem 'Libro' Giorgio Vasaris," *Städte-Jahrbuch*, VI, 1930, p. 45 (English trans., "The First Page of Giorgio Vasari's 'Libro,'" *Meaning in the Visual Arts*, New York, 1955, p. 192). Basic for all of these passages is Vitruvius I, 3: "haec autem fieri debeat ut habeatur ratio firmitatis, utilitatis, venustatis."

23. Cf. also Jean Mignot's remarks concerning foundations, note 6 above.

and generally presents all of his recommendations as founded on the art of the ancients, does not change the fact that the method he describes is essentially the venerable architectural procedure of the Gothic shops as practiced in variations all over Europe.

Nor can it be said that matters had changed greatly by the middle of the sixteenth century. No lesser humanist authority than Daniele Barbaro still attributed *both* the beauty and the structural strength of a building to the proper proportions.²⁴ Sebastiano Serlio, who works with geometrical schemes throughout his *Sette Libri*, takes over the basic idea of the Pisanello drawing in a preparatory study for a gateway (Figs. 6, 7). The proportion of his arches *in luce* is *uno quadro diametro e mezzo quadro* while the arch proportion *including* the widths of flanking pilasters and the archivolt is *uno quadro e mezzo*, i.e., the width and the height of the pilasters is determined *ad quadratum*. Since the pilasters are fixed geometrically and not according to module, it is not surprising that (even in a perfect geometrical construction) their proportion is an odd relationship like 1:6.83.²⁵ The diagonals dividing the interior pavement are almost like an illustration of the old string method for deriving the elevation measurements. The drawing demonstrates three basic principles of architectural method still prevailing in the sixteenth century: 1) the significant proportions are "in luce"; 2) "in luce" signifies *from shaft to shaft*, regardless of profiles; 3) base, shaft and capital of columns and pilasters are included in *one* proportional unit.²⁶

III

In a recent dissertation,²⁷ Hellmann has tried to show that Alberti, Bramante, Leonardo, and others knew the old system of quadrature and used it to construct their architectural designs.

An understanding of this method for deriving a series of values based on progressively increasing or decreasing squares (the side of each successive smaller square is equal to one-half the diagonal of the larger, i.e., $\sqrt{2a}/2 = b$) goes a considerable way towards explaining some puzzling points in Filarete's text.²⁸

On fol. 30v of the Florentine codex, Filarete begins the description of one of the towers in

24. *I dieci libri dell'architettura di M. Vitruvio traduti et comentati da Monsignor Barbaro eletto Patriarcha d'Aquilegia*, Venice, 1556, p. 24: "... ne si può lodare abastanza l'effetto della proportion, nella quale è posta la gloria dell'Architetto, la fermezza dell'opera. ..." The Latin edition of 1567, p. 21: "... in qua gloria Architecti, firmitas operis. ..." Since Barbaro died in 1570, he need not be responsible for the substitution of "bellezza" for "fermezza" in the edition of 1584. Cf. R. Wittkower, *Architectural Principles in the Age of Humanism*, 2nd ed. London, 1952, p. 122 n. 2.

25. Sebastiano Serlio, *De architettura*, Bk. II, Latin ed. by G. C. Saraceno, Venice, 1569, pp. 43, 45. For the method "ad quadratum," see note 28 below.

26. Cf. the Milan documents of 1392, *Annali*, I, pp. 68-69: the height of piers is repeatedly given as "computatis in ipsis mensuris bases et capitellos." From the late mediaeval standpoint, the springing point of the arch was what mattered structurally, not the proportion of the individual parts of the pier. It seems that fifteenth and sixteenth century architects did not seriously challenge this practical imperative despite their desire for forms "all'antica."

27. G. Hellmann, *Studien zur Terminologie der kunsthistorischen Schriften Leone Battista Albertis*, University of Cologne, 1955, as yet unpublished. Cf. O. H. Förster, *op.cit.*, pp. 168, 225 n. 167.

28. All previous studies of the problem of "quadrature" have taken as their point of departure the little late Gothic mason's handbook of Matthias Roritzer, *Von der Fialen Gerechtigkeit*, Regensburg, 1486, which explains the method *ad quadratum* as such and suggests its specific application in the construction of the finials so common in Gothic architecture. W. Überwasser (see particularly his "Nach rechtem Masz,"

Jahrb. d. preuss. Kunstsamml., LVI, 1935, pp. 250f.) realized the over-all applicability of this method and its variations in all phases of Gothic construction and studied its use in tower plans. Maria Velte (*Die Anwendung der Quadratur und Triangulatur bei der Grund- und Aufrissgestaltung der gotischen Kirche*, Basel, 1951) recently reexamined this problem. (But cf. J. S. Ackerman's review, *ART BULLETIN*, XXXV, 1953, pp. 155f.) See also P. Frankl, *op.cit.*, pp. 61f.

It should also be mentioned that Alberti, who knew the meaning of *radici* and refers to square roots and cube roots (*De re aedif.* IX, 5) must have understood both the theory and applications of quadrature though he does not specifically discuss either. Cf. G. Hellmann, *op.cit.*

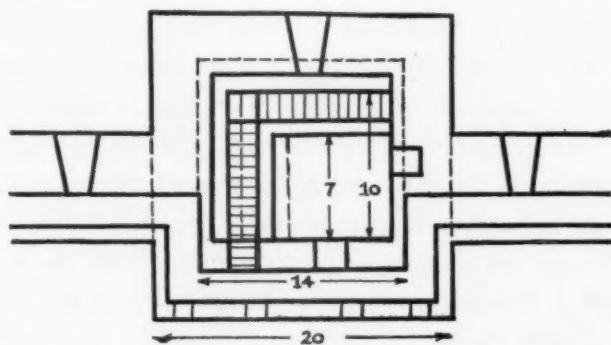
Serlio (Bk. V) recommends quadrature as a practical system for determining the widths of pier and wall foundations. That this recommendation was based on actual practice is revealed by documents in the *opera* of Santa Maria del Fiore. On June 17, 1357, Francesco Talenti was ordered to design two piers, one four braccia square, the other five braccia. According to which one would be chosen for execution, he was to plan on making the foundations either six or seven braccia square (Guasti, SMF, p. 94. Guasti observed in a footnote that the document reads VI 1/1, which regularly stands for 6 to/or 7). Later on seven braccia square foundations (Guasti, SMF, p. 95) and five braccia square piers (Guasti, SMF, p. 96) were ordered. This pier-to-foundation relationship is determined by the "simplified" quadrature series (see discussion below). The choice was between 4, 6, 8, 12 . . . , and 5, 7, 10, 14 To make sure that no errors had been made in elementary calculations of this kind, professional geometricians were employed. For example, on June 7, 1381, there is a payment of 1 lire 10 soldi to "magistro Blaxio abachi, pro mensurando fundamentum

his city wall. The text suddenly becomes so involved and difficult to follow that von Oettingen²⁹ quite correctly speculated that Filarete must have left his simple symmetrical ideal plans and was describing an actual fortification tower that he had built or with which he was familiar. Nothing seems to be more difficult than to give a clear and lucid description of the whole of a building without pictures, something on which Filarete remarks repeatedly and of which every lecturer on architecture is too often painfully aware. Filarete illustrates his text with a drawing (Fig. 8) which has only the most general resemblance to the unsymmetrical structure he describes. Oettingen's comment on this illustration was "ganz ungenau und unbrauchbar." He then added his own reconstructed scale plan, carefully following Filarete's description, a plan which, it should be said, helps considerably to an understanding of the difficult text (text fig. 2).³⁰

But what is the meaning of Filarete's figure? Its significance becomes clearer when it is realized that all major dimensions of the figure are derived "ad quadratum." The inner wall dimension is the first derivation from the outer wall (minimum discrepancy).³¹ The second derivation exactly defines the wall of the inner space including the stairs while the third derivation exactly gives the inner room.

Converting this geometrical observation into numerical measurements we obtain the following series: (beginning with Filarete's measurement for the outer wall) 20, 14.14, 9.996, 7.06 (multiplying consecutively by the numerical equivalent of $\sqrt{2}/2$ ($= 0.707$)). Keeping in mind that Filarete obtains the circumference of a circle by the proportion 3D (Bk. VIII fol. 55v), let us reduce this series to the nearest whole numbers: 20, 14, 10, 7, etc. The generic formula for any series of this kind is $a = \frac{c+d}{2} - b$, with a the smallest in a decreasing series of four. The intervals between succeeding values (6, 4, 3, 2, etc. in the 20 series) have the same relationship, giving a whole set of related values.

The relationship of the illustration to the text now becomes apparent. All the values derived by quadrature from the original 20 br. square are in the tower Filarete describes. Only they have been hidden by a whole range of adjustments dictated by practical considerations. 14 br. now define the outer wall of the inner chamber on its clear side (text fig. 2). A 10 br. square encloses



2. Scale plan of a tower according to Filarete's description, after von Oettingen

muratum per Iohannem Mercati et socios . . ." (Guasti, SMF, doc. 327).

The popularity of such quadrature schemes as late as the middle of the 16th century is attested to by the fact that Philibert de l'Orme took over completely the elevation of a church based on geometrical construction into his *Premier tome de l'Architecture* (cf. A. Blunt, *Philibert de l'Orme*, London, 1958, p. 130), a scheme originally developed by Francesco di Giorgio Martini (cf. note 9 above). See also Louis Hauteceur, "Les proportions mathématiques et l'architecture," *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, VI, XVIII, 1937, pp. 263f.

29. The transcription of the text was published by Oettingen, *op.cit.*, pp. 698-699.

30. W. v. Oettingen, *op.cit.*, p. 150.

31. There is no reason to doubt that the illustrations in the Codex Medici are based on Filarete's original designs and they may have been executed by Filarete himself. Since, however, they are copies, no geometrical construction lines can be seen on any of them. This process of copying may explain the slight deviation from the accurate first quadrature derivation in the tower drawing. Filarete does not refer with one word to the fact that his design is based on quadrature.

the inner room and the stairway on one side plus one-half of the stairway on the adjoining side. 7 br. gives one of the dimensions of the unsymmetrical inner room. All of the other measurements mentioned in Filarete's description (with the exception of the number 11) could have been derived from the quadrature series or the related interval series though they might also have been chosen arbitrarily.

It is evident why Filarete did not hesitate to supply his text with a figure which, in terms of scale representation, has nothing whatever to do with it. The figure *does* contain the essential "geumetria" on which the whole is based and from which the plan was derived.³² It contains that element of "scienza di disegno . . . di misure" (fol. 2r) which assured his building of beauty and structural security. Thus, it is perhaps an even better representation of the building than a literal scale drawing (of the value of which Filarete is perfectly aware elsewhere).³³ Having used *scienza* to start out with, he accommodates the rigidities of his scheme to practical exigencies (one might say, in the classic Italian manner).

Discrepancies between text and illustration pervade the treatise. E.g., on fol. 77r Filarete describes the elevation of a church, giving the clear intercolumniation of his arches as 12 br., their clear height as 24 br., the clearstory as 16 br., divided into an 8 br. wall and an 8 br. window zone. The accompanying drawing (Fig. 5), carefully drawn with ruler and compass, has the following measurements in the original: clear intercolumniation, 1.5 cm; clear arcade height, 3.35 cm; wall zone, 0.9 cm; window zone, 1.2 cm. The intervening cornices in the illustration are not mentioned in the text description. Wall zone and window zone, equal according to the text, are not equal in the illustration. The clear arcade height, supposedly twice the clear intercolumniation, is actually the product of the clear intercolumniation and 2.236, the numerical equivalent of $\sqrt{5}$, i.e., the arch proportion is *a due quadri il diametro*. The figure is not an exact illustration of the text, but a possible variation on it. In any case, it is founded on the same principles of *proporzione*.

That Filarete also uses the proportion *auno quadro diametro* is demonstrated, among others, by the illustration of a revolving tower on fol. 172r (Fig. 10). The height of the main portal arch (in the original drawing) is 4.38 cm to a clear width of 3.1 cm. $3.1 \times 1.414 = 4.3834$. The two smaller arches in the back are 2 cm x 1 cm. Filarete doesn't give any of the tower measurements in his text.

A number of points may now be made: 1) Filarete used the method "ad quadratum" in developing his ideal plans. The relationship of this system to the irrational proportions suggested for elevations is clear. 2) The elements of the ideal plans can be absorbed into executed buildings although they may be more or less hidden by practical adjustments. (In one case, having put a 4 br. wall all around a room in his city wall and having thus obtained a 32 br. clear space, Filarete assures his patron that it is perfectly all right to make the side walls only 3 br. to increase the usable clear space since there is no danger of bombardment from the sides.) Such largesse may serve in some cases to reach a desired proportion. On the other hand, it can also tend to obscure the underlying geometrical pattern.

IV

The outlines of Filarete's architectural theory indicate—and renewed examinations of Brunelleschi's buildings will further confirm—that early Renaissance architecture must be reevaluated in terms of its basic elements. It bears—as do most significant cultural phenomena—both the fruits of the theory and practice of preceding centuries and the seeds of a productive era of art and

32. Cf. Professor R. Krautheimer's penetrating observations on "Copies in Mediaeval Architecture" in his article "Introduction to an 'Iconography of Mediaeval Architecture,'" *Journal*

of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes, v, 1942, pp. 63f.

33. Bk. II, fol. 13r-13v.

thought to come. Its spokesmen—Alberti, Filarete, Pseudo-Manetti, Vasari—were surely closer to the essential point than a study of early Renaissance architectural details as such³⁴ might lead us to believe, when they emphasized the “all’antica” *appearance* as the crucial characteristic of the new architecture. The roots of its method of design and construction and the partly philosophical, partly mystico-religious geometrical theory on which it was founded, are buried in and nourished by the subsoil of mediaeval masonic theory and practice. In the intricate machine of interlocking geometrical forms, the essential new element of consequently applied and, hence, necessarily “modular” architectural vocabulary *all’antica* represents an extra wheel whose cogs do not easily mesh with the existing mechanism. At times the added stress threatens to explode the entire structure of theory and practice. However, it is a flexible affair and manages to keep on running for quite a few centuries with a few essential adjustments.

The architectural developments of the following centuries may be viewed as a continuing attempt to resolve this inherent conflict of artistic form and structural theory.³⁵ The practical implications of this fundamentally theoretical conflict for the architecture of the High Renaissance remain to be studied. Certain aspects of the problem appear predictable. In spite of a residue of geometrical theory and an academic flowering of “modular” proportions in sixteenth century architectural tracts, it strikes me that the major advantages of the old method must have been lost and the system itself more and more difficult to apply effectively in practice as plans and elevations became ever more complex towards the end of the Quattrocento. We need think only of such relatively simple yet large and multi-unit buildings as Leonardo’s central church designs, Bramante’s Saint Peter projects or Giuliano da Sangallo’s plans for a palace for the King of Naples,³⁶ to realize that it would have been hard, if not impossible, to explain their elevations *a bocca* from a drawing with the foundations alone or with some simple geometrical construction. The old method might still have functioned with conservative projects like the Palazzo Strozzi or Gondi. It was still adequate in dealing with problems concerning the *cupolone* of Santa Maria del Fiore (cf. Excursus below) but Michelangelo would have had difficulties with it wherever he worked.

It is not surprising that *measured* architectural drawings appear and become more and more common and diversified *after* 1470—when the period of Brunelleschi, Michelozzo, Manetti, Filarete, Rossellino, and Alberti is at an end. The multi-unit, multi-form space and ever more vigorously plastic shell that marks the new architecture from the 1460’s on could no longer be contained, represented, or manipulated with a small array of geometrical proportions inherent in the plan and a few modular elements of *all’antica* membering. The theoreticians may still have preached the old doctrine, freshly spiced with some highly intellectual savorings of “musical” proportion and theological symbolism,³⁷ gleaned from the best old sources. The architects—and not only the less imaginative among them—may yet have been among the faithful. Sheer practicality will have kept the old arch proportions, even the irrational ones, alive for some time. But the essence of the old theory which made it wholly practical, aesthetically satisfying *and* scientifically sound in one, no longer served a changing architecture which developed new means of spatial representation³⁸ as the old “word of mouth” system went out of use.

34. Cf., for example, my own comments, “Filippo Brunelleschi: Capital Studies,” *ART BULLETIN*, XL, 1958, pp. 113f. However, the distinctions essential for a clearer definition of a particular aspect should not mislead us in interpreting the larger implications of Early Renaissance architecture. To the fifteenth century, Brunelleschi’s architecture *appeared* to be *all’antico modo* and that was enough. This is the essential point.

35. Dr. Wittkower has given an excellent short outline of the evolution of architectural proportions from the 16th to the 18th centuries (*Architectural Principles*, pp. 124-135). He warns, properly, against viewing proportions in Renais-

sance buildings in isolation as exclusively aesthetic phenomena. However, with architectural proportions placed into a purely Renaissance setting, the continuity of the mediaeval tradition and its effects through the 16th century and beyond are obscured.

36. G. Marchini, *Giuliano da Sangallo*, Florence, 1942, pl. xa.

37. Cf. A. Blunt, *op.cit.*, p. 124.

38. Cf. W. Lotz, “Das Raumbild . . .,” particularly pp. 213f. and my Excursus at the end of this article. See also Lotz’s illuminating discussion of the technique and function of drawings in later 16th century practice in his article

These notes lead to an essential final consideration. The architectural theory and method whose elucidation and effects are the subject of this discussion, is a phenomenon common to fifteenth century architecture in general. It is the common ground of knowledge and experience on which all the architects of the period stood though their architectural solutions may be as radically diverse as those of a Brunelleschi and a Michelozzo or an Alberti and a Giuliano da Sangallo or, yet again, a Francesco di Giorgio and a Bramante. Their various solutions cannot be fully understood without realizing the possibilities and limitations which this theory and method imposed within the common framework of a return *all'antica*. Yet, in the final analysis, it is only the point of departure; and the possible artistic solutions are not only limitless but actually gain in interest through a fuller comprehension of the theoretical and methodological, that is to say, cultural and, on the practical level, the physical and accidental limitations within which early Renaissance architects—as artists in every age—created. Changing cultural demands led to solutions which inevitably burst through these limitations, and theory and method inevitably changed with them just as the early Renaissance theory with its “built-in” conflict of form and structure had itself been an *ad hoc* synthesis of previous geometrical-structural theory and the dormant Vitruvian tradition.

From the standpoint of a coherent structural and aesthetic theory, the early Renaissance marks the beginning of an *architecture in crisis*, a crisis that is ultimately resolved only when the eighteenth century soberly assigns science to the scientists and gives art, as it were, back to the artists and art historians. With it the age of the great artist-philosopher-scientist-engineers is over.

Filarete says—and almost surely believed—that the theory and method of architecture he propounded represented the building art of antiquity. Besides Vitruvius we possess almost no sources for ancient architectural theory and know little more about it today than Alberti did. If, however, the system with which Quattrocento architects worked represents a methodological and theoretical *continuation* with a particular twist rather than a “renaissance,” it may yet be true that its ultimate origins lie with the builders of antiquity. In combining the methods of a millennium of creative architects with their own vision of an architecture *all'antica*, the Renaissance architects found their own means of reconstituting the ancient grandeur.

EXCURSUS. DRAWING, MODEL AND PERSPECTIVE IN FOURTEENTH AND FIFTEENTH CENTURY ARCHITECTURAL PRACTICE

I

Since all important measurements of the buildings going up in Italy and elsewhere in the fourteenth and fifteenth century, be they the width of foundations or the height of arcades, could be derived by elementary geometrical constructions or arithmetical formulae from the layouts themselves, elevation drawings and models would appear to be at least theoretically superfluous. Only the full-scale patterns of details seem absolutely essential. Nevertheless drawings and models of projected buildings, sometimes to scale (*braccia picchole*) are legion in documents of the period and both Filarete and Alberti specifically recommend them. Their function in fourteenth and fifteenth century practice requires further definition.

In dealing with an architect today, a patron will find himself looking at plans, elevations, perspective render-

ings and plastic models. Whatever his competence, he will find himself deciding two main questions: do I like it and can I afford it? He may be particular and go into details. He may want to know about materials, colors, and the shape of door knobs. But, if he is dealing with a competent and trustworthy architect and is willing to pay for good quality materials, he will not need to worry about one problem: will it stand?

The late mediaeval picture is not totally different, but it surely is no exaggeration to conclude that the problem of structural stability loomed larger in the minds of fourteenth and fifteenth century building commissions for the very reason that the science of statics was no more than a chancy combination of Pythagorean mysteries and the combined experience of as many professional and lay experts as one could bring together. It was not merely (as is sometimes suggested) that the

“Vignola-Zeichnungen,” *Jahrbuch der preuss. Kunstsamml.*, LIX, 1938, pp. 11f., and J. S. Ackerman's excellent observa-

tions on “Architectural Practice in the Italian Renaissance,” *J. Soc. Arch. Historians*, XIII, 3, 1954, pp. 3-11.

mediaeval towns loved committees and preferred to spread the responsibility. With the architectural science and method at hand, there was, in fact, safety only in numbers.

There is another crucial diversity between modern and mediaeval practice. The modern architect works with drawings during all phases of planning, contact with the patron, and actual execution. Except for some preliminary sketches, all these drawings or models are to scale and the blue prints used during execution have marked dimensions for every detail. Within certain limitations, the mediaeval builder operated similarly in the planning and patron-contact phases, though, as will appear from the following, his drawings and models were of a crudity that would render them almost useless in modern practice. However, I think that it is safe to say that no equivalent of the modern blue prints existed in the period we are considering. Aside from the full scale *modani*, the often mentioned plans and models which played such an important role in the preliminary phases had an entirely subordinate function once building was actually begun. During the execution phase they receded into the background, except insofar as the builders may have been required to "follow" them. They moved back into the foreground only when—and this happened often enough—serious doubts arose about the possibility of executing a project. Then old architects were fired, new ones hired, new drawings and models made, lengthily discussed, and ultimately approved. Then existing masonry was either demolished, or building simply continued with modifications.

The main feature of the drawings and models is: their primary function was not in building, but in persuading the patrons to build. The responsible persons had to be convinced that a project was not only good to look at, but that it would stand up. Since, however, the ultimate proof could only be in the pudding and the pudding was the expensive problem to be considered, we are presented with the serio-comic spectacle of serious men examining and reexamining the color of a package to see if the contents are fresh. It is symptomatic that the divisions of opinion were seldom over specific questions of artistic taste. In practically every discussion about major steps to be taken in the building of Florence cathedral, for example, there was nearly unanimous agreement about which proposed project seemed most beautiful. The model of the architects and artists of 1366-1367 and Brunelleschi's new ideas for the cupola and the lantern were the favorites all along

when it came to the purely aesthetic side of the problem. The effective attacks of the adversaries and the doubts of the proponents arose almost exclusively over the question of *fortezza*, structural stability.

This brings up the question of what the models and drawings looked like and how they could be of use to the commissions in making their decisions. There is not much evidence remaining on which to decide this question in all of its ramifications. The material is diversified but not totally dissimilar. Many elevation and plan drawings from late mediaeval workshops, both northern and southern, are highly detailed and fairly carefully drawn. As Kletzl has emphasized, however, their main purpose appears to be to fix the intricate decorative system of geometrical and figural elements of late Gothic architecture which could not be determined or described *a bocca*.¹ They are generally accurate enough to fix the over-all relationship of parts, but not sufficiently large and regular to allow detail measurements to be taken from them. A unique drawing surviving from the *opera* of Santa Maria del Fiore may throw additional light on the matter.² Velte has recently redemonstrated that the Gothic tower plans were nothing more than symbols for the geometrical elevation system they contained.³ Having "read off" the system, the builders had only to repeat the forms in the plan on a larger scale on the building site according to the indicated geometrical construction without actually taking measurements from the plan at all. The exact dimensions of the details were determined according to related arithmetical and geometrical criteria and executed after full-scale models. Filarete's plans are similarly constructed. As we have seen, the thickness of his tower walls depends on the outer length of the tower, not its height, as would appear logical. We have no reason to suppose that Brunelleschi's plan drawings were very different. The description of Brunelleschi's models in the *Vita* is fairly specific on this point:

"Filippo's nature, or better, his custom regarding models, after he had had some years of experience concerning architectural problems, was that he made the models he needed for his buildings in such a way that they revealed little regarding the measurements (*fatti delle simetrie*), but took care to make only the main walls and (to show) the disposition of some of the membering (*rispondenza di qualche membro*) without the ornaments or types of capitals, architraves, friezes and cornices, etc. . . ."⁴

Sometimes he worked "only with drawings, and

1. Northern drawings: H. Tietze, "Aus der Bauhütte von St. Stephan," *Jahrb. d. kunsth. Samml.*, New Series, IV, 1930, pp. 1f.; V, 1931, pp. 161f.; O. Kletzl, *Planfragmente aus der Dombauhütte von Prag*, Stuttgart, 1939. Cf. also D. Frey, "Architekturzeichnung," in *Reallexikon zur deutschen Kunstgeschichte*, I, Stuttgart, 1937, cols. 992f.—Italian drawings: Some examples in H. Keller, "Die Bauplastik des Sieneser Doms," *Kunstgeschichtliches Jahrb. d. Bibl. Hertziana*, I, 1937, pp. 198f.; and by the same author, "Die Risse der Orvietaner Domopera und die Anfänge der Bildhauerzeichnung," in *Festschrift Wilhelm Pinder*, Leipzig, 1938, pp. 195f.

2. It is the little known drawing by Giovanni di Gherardo da

Prato, substitute *provveditore* of the cupola of Santa Maria del Fiore, which, executed about 1425, figured in a discussion of the *operai* of the Cathedral early in 1426. It has been published in part by Cesare Guasti in his *Belle Arti, opuscoli descrittivi e biografici*, Florence, 1874, pp. 107-128 and only rarely referred to since. No photograph of the drawing has been published. I will discuss this important document in a separate study. See now H. Saalman, "Giovanni di Gherardo da Prato's Drawings Concerning the Cupola of Santa Maria del Fiore in Florence," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*, XVIII, 1, 1959 (in press).

3. M. Velte, *op.cit.*, cf. note 28 above.

4. *Vita di Brunelleschi*, ed. Toesca, p. 72.

told the masons and bricklayers by word of mouth (*a bocca*) what they had to do as he went along. . . . The designs and models were full of "molte belle considerazioni," but "few understood the proportional system they contained" (*pochi intese le cagioni*).⁵ It is understandable why Brunelleschi's followers could not avoid "errors." They could do little more than improvise on a set theme, "non intendendo molti il tutto."

A bond of identity unites all of the material under discussion: with a few exceptions such as Antonio di Vincenzo's sketch of the proposed elevation of Milan cathedral,⁶ a particular case of an architect "taking notes" for another project, the many Gothic drawings and the few surviving wooden models of Italian workshops⁷ have one thing in common: *they contain few or no precise measurements*.⁸

This peculiarity is due to the reasons we have already mentioned: while the models were *pro forma*, *pro exemplo*, and contained the *veritas* of the project,⁹ they served as the basis for the preliminary discussions, not as "blue prints" during execution. Precise statical criteria being nonexistent, the dimensions of the major and minor elements were arrived at by various traditional arithmetical and geometrical formulae. All measurements had to be reevaluated on the building site and tested in practice. Constant skepticism and revisions of already begun projects were inevitable since the models could give no better assurances than the science behind them.

This problem arose continually in all of the late mediaeval workshops. The cathedral at Florence offers illuminating illustrations. The over-all form and dimensions of the final project for Santa Maria del Fiore had been decided in 1367. A large brick model in the *opera* embodying this project was made legally binding on all future architects.¹⁰ Yet, apart from the fact that one and the same council of masters had come first to the conclusion that this project was unsafe to execute and within ten days came to exactly the opposite conclusion while suggesting only limited modifications,¹¹ and apart from the circumstance that no one had any firm idea on how the gigantic octagon could ultimately be vaulted, the definitive model of 1367 was an uncertain guide even for lesser problems.

For example, to decide whether an attached pilaster could project a certain distance from the flight of the

outer wall,¹² it was necessary to convene a commission of masters who, having studied the problem and the model and taken "inter eos consilio and deliberatione solempni" gave it as their opinion that a certain measurement would be "secundum ordinem disegni murati iuxta campanile dicte ecclesie et modelli dati dicte opere." The fact that a whole group of masters were required to make such a decision in the first place and their cautious legal *videtur* (the recurring form in all such cases) makes it clear that what they mean is that it *seems* to them that the measurements they advise fit the situation and *appear* to conform with the model, as was legally required. Even if the model gave them rough relationships, it could give them few precise measurements and absolutely *no* statical certainty.¹³

In 1404 another commission (including Brunelleschi and Ghiberti) had to undertake a careful investigation before concluding that the model of 1367 had been violated.¹⁴ A mere quick glance at the model was evidently insufficient to decide whether the improvisations of the then *capomaestro*, Giovanni di Ambrogio, were desirable or otherwise.

An even more striking illustration of the limitations of the late mediaeval *exempla* is the case of the celebrated model for the cupola of Santa Maria del Fiore. In retrospect it is hard to understand the criteria by which the building commission convinced itself that the finally accepted program of 1420 was practically feasible. All the main constructive features and some of their dimensions were modified as building went along. Within a year the widths of the secondary ribs were reduced and the point at which stone vaulting would end and brick vaulting begin was lowered "per levar via troppo carico."¹⁵ Whatever the stone chains may have looked like in the original model of 1420, the exact form of this important structural member was still a matter of doubt and controversy in 1423 when it was almost time to lay what appears to be the second pair of stone chains. Brunelleschi's detail design carried the day, but he and Ghiberti seem to have developed still another design for the third set of chains about 1429.¹⁶ Obviously each set of chains required a special form which could not be decided until it was actually needed. Even then, only success in practice could give final confirmation. Another important aspect of the building process, whether or not and just how to lay the brick vault webbing "sanza armadura," was predetermined to a

5. *Ibid.*, p. 56.

6. W. Lotz, "Das Raumbild . . ." p. 194, fig. 1; cf. P. Frankl, *op.cit.*, pp. 51f. and J. S. Ackerman, *op.cit.*, pp. 88f.

7. Models: L. H. Heydenreich, "Architekturmodell," in *Reallex. z. deutsch. Kunstgesch.*, 1, Stuttgart, 1937, cols. 918f. Cf. also A. Grote, *Studien über die Geschichte der Opera der Santa Reparata zu Florenz im 14. Jahrhundert*, Diss., Munich, 1959.

8. Cf. O. Kletzel's cogent discussion, *op.cit.*, p. 16f.

9. C. Guasti, *La cupola di Santa Maria del Fiore*, Florence, 1857, doc. 70.

10. Guasti SMF, docs. 214, 215, 230, 246, 255, 275, 313, 369, 397, 457, 458, 460, 480. A. Nardini Despotti Mospignotti, *Filippo di Ser Brunellesco e la cupola del Duomo di Firenze*, Livorno, 1885, pp. 58f. published a number of important

documents omitted by Guasti showing that the oaths continued at least until May 5, 1421.

11. Guasti SMF, docs. 176, 178.

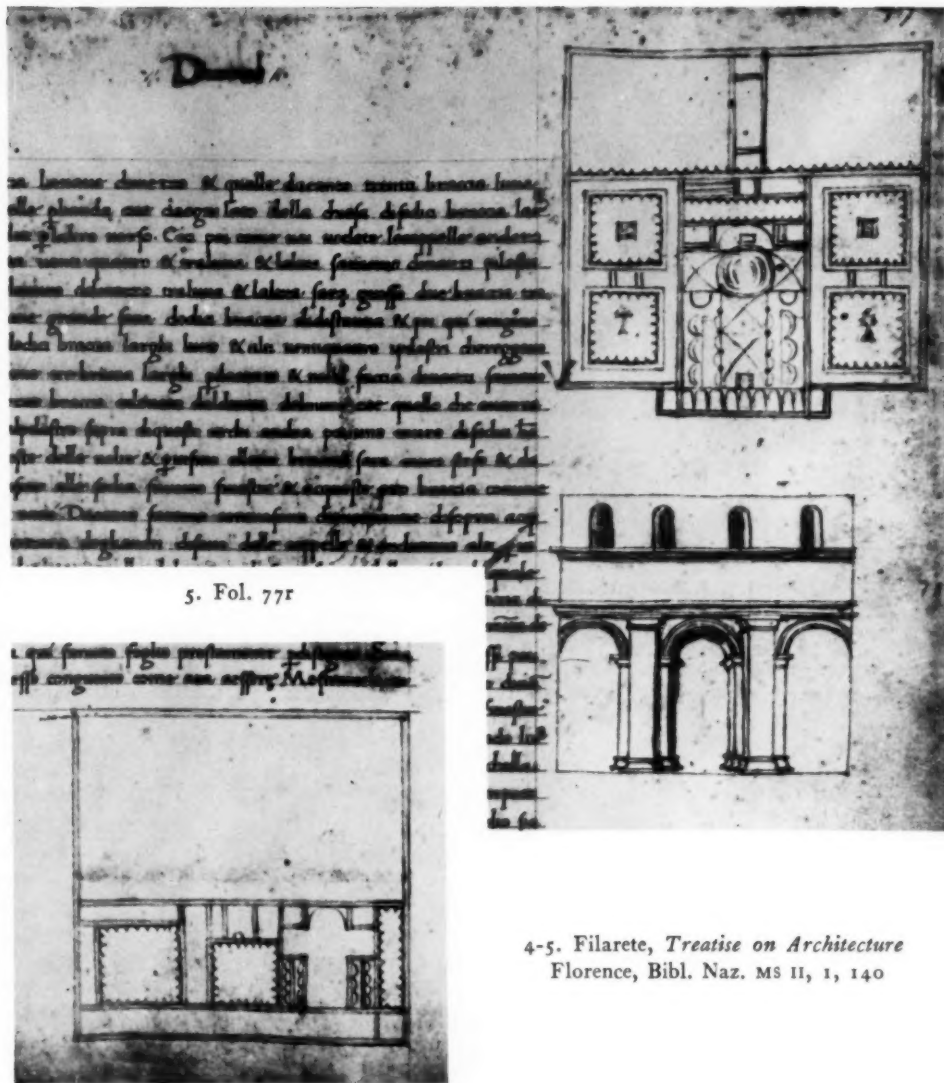
12. Guasti SMF, doc. 287, cf. similar occasions, docs. 352, 353, 355, 356.

13. For the "measurement" of foundations, cf. note 28 above.

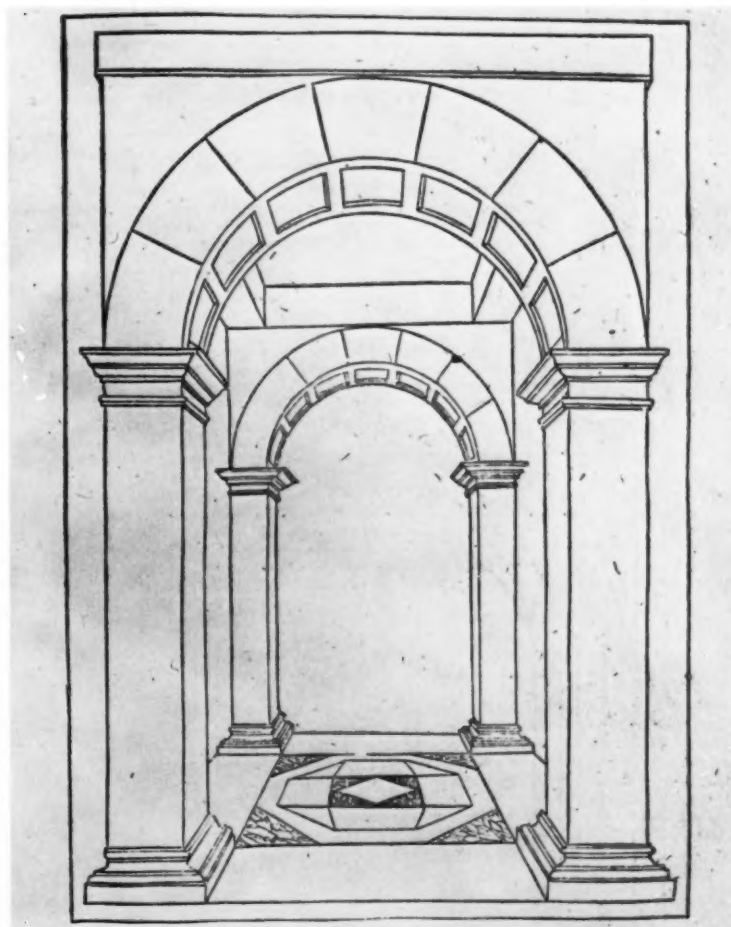
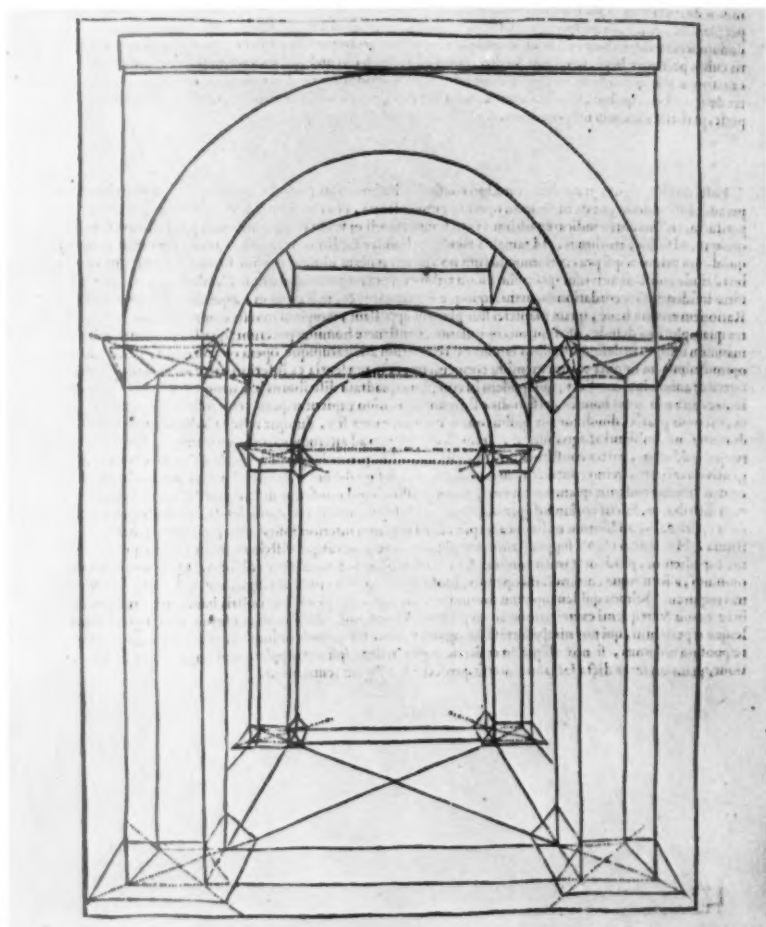
14. Guasti SMF, doc. 425. This document also reveals that the 1367 model indicated the balustraded walks over the chapels of the choir arms ("dov'è disegnato i beccatelli"). Their width, however, is not determined by measuring the model, but roughly estimated ("si ragiona e dicesi essere braccia 4¾").

15. C. Guasti, *Cupola*, doc. 52.

16. *Ibid.*, docs. 173-93.

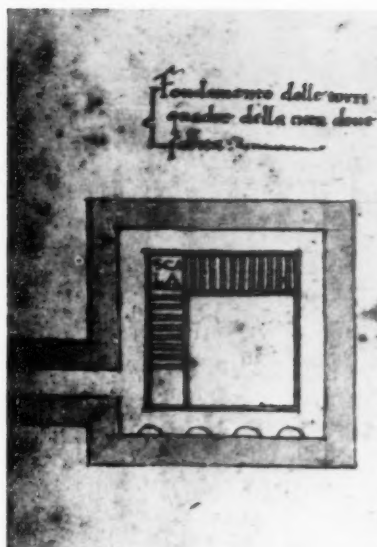


4-5. Filarete, *Treatise on Architecture*
Florence, Bibl. Naz. MS II, 1, 140



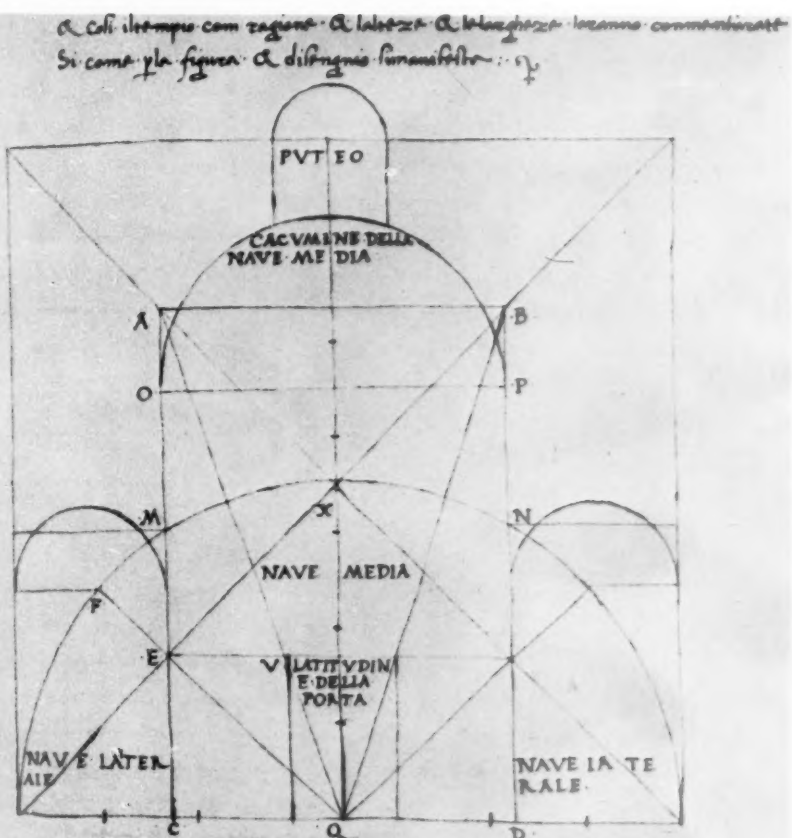
6. Preparatory Design for a Gateway

7. Design for a Gateway



minia con lo sparo di due braccia conquanto finisse dividendo l'una all'alt
 Et ancora dentro nella corte difese nellaquale e uno muro di due braci
 appreso alle finestre l'quale fu questo antea dappassore letorei dera mia Et
 romane poi due sparo le acqui primo dandua braccia peruno scro Et
 pallano d'oda braccia Et antia pallando d'eterna Et come fu d'eterna fin
 ne lasciale amon mancha Et poi finche amon destra perpassare mia la
 terna finche una finche di acqui braccia Et se braccia pallano amon Et
 quia e l'una d'una inquil luogo prima d'eterna inquale forma nella par
 delle d'oda braccia se ne piglio quanto una una d'eterna d'oda d'eterna
 se uno braccia poi peruno scro Et d'oda pallano Et d'quale quanto la se fu
 no uno muro di due braccia d'eterna Et quelle due braccia se sono man
 la d'eterna braccia amon Et poi minche Et grana un'altra infa due amon di
 amon braccia luoghi Et uno palastro d'una braccia Et mezzo grana un'altra Et la
 no Et quella pario falsa altre gazi braccia Et ue alla prima neta laquale
 se appreso alia d'eterna braccia due alprimo difeso Et d'eterna braccia non
 Et questo miter alprimo d'eterna andao Et perquello medesimo l'eterna
 de a fine difeso se d'eterna perinfino al'aluna neta Et se la Signoria no
 fra un'altra supio andao et'achualle. Costo impio m'eterno habito
 pagano d'eterna due otre compaga peruna come possio auere comodan

8. Filarete, *Treatise on Architecture*. Florence, Bibl. Naz. MS II, I, 140, fol. 30v



la stampa oblungo facciata e tonda p' darsi debita altezza: e che alla
larghezza proportionabil. mens. abbi corrispondenza. formasi imperio

9. Francesco di Giorgio, *Elevation of an Ideal Church*. Florence, Bibl. Naz. MS II, 1, 141, fol. 41r

da sopra di questa con una cornice
di fondo di incisa con due bravi
una pietra incisa la quale rile
la sua forma con questa sopra la
stessa incisa forse l'incisa di
una similitudine delle finanze
con quattro di incisa sopra di
dopo incisa in un solo.

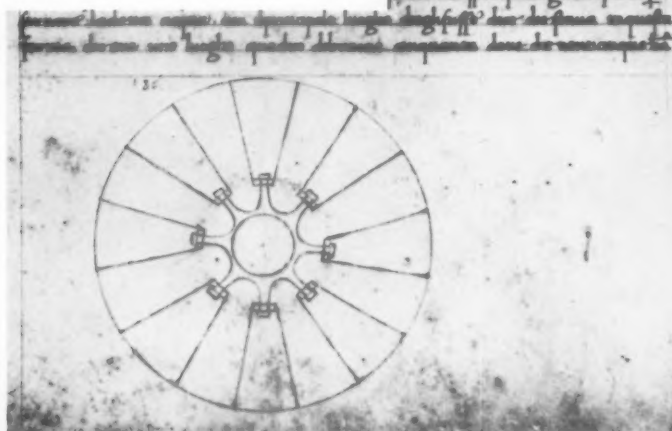
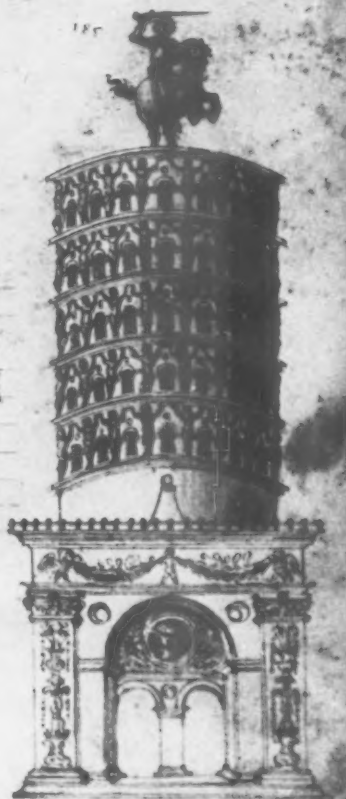
[illegible]

un discepolo, come molto raramente
a dispetto del Signore. E per
questo, forse, una legge molto
A me sembra molto forte. Non

2. *si spesse* *l'han* *domandato* *alio* *for*
on *l'indole* *cof* *&* *no* *no* *che* *cof* *f*
ni *f* *che* *no* *no* *quello* *no* *no* *no*
no *no* *no* *&* *no* *no* *f* *&* *f* *che*
cof *no* *no* *no* *f* *cof* *no* *no* *no*

ma che per me basti
questo forma off. formosi. off.
da qui e frasi laura off. d'inf.

8 f. ff. der des f. ff. ff.



10. Filarete, fol. 172r

height of only thirty braccia or about one-half the height of the cupola: "e da braccia trenta in su secondo sara allora consigliato, *perche nel murare la praticha insegnera quell' che ssara a seguire.*"¹⁷ Could the model be measured at all? In 1420 Brunelleschi was paid for "filo di ferro e chorde per misure del modello"¹⁸ and in 1431 his model was destroyed because, among other reasons, the cupola was "beyond all measure of the model" (*extra omnem mensuram modelli*).¹⁹ But from the constant uncertainty regarding both major and minor details of the cupola, it seems possible to deduce that the iron wire and strings were not "measuring tapes" for taking the dimensions of the parts, but rather part of a small scale *gualandrino*, the fixed geometrical measure which allowed the construction of a precisely curved *quinto acuto* vault.²⁰

This, then, is the relationship of model to execution in one of the great late mediaeval constructions: the general form was shown by the model, the over-all dimension and the curve of the cupola was fixed by the formula *quinto acuto*, related to the already existing octagon; the main elements were briefly described and the initial tasks defined in a written specification. Thereafter all was as yet uncertainty and darkness, to be lighted by "la praticha."

II

Alberti's advanced theories notwithstanding (*De re aedif.* II, 1),²¹ I am inclined to doubt that a fundamental distinction was made between a perspective view and a wooden model in the actual practice of the Quattrocento and would judge that both were used

interchangeably. It is surely no coincidence that a man who was above all an architect, Brunelleschi, first developed and demonstrated a constructed perspective in the form of architectural views.²² It is also revealing that practically every fifteenth century Italian architectural elevation drawing that we possess is, in fact, a perspective of one kind or another.²³ True, a plastic model is more tangible and suggestive and remains a popular trick in the architect's bag to this day, particularly vis à vis the paying and ever-skeptical patron or building committee. Back in 1366, Giovanni di Lapo Ghini, one of the masters employed in the building of Santa Maria del Fiore, when asked his opinion of a suggested project, remarked that he could not decide whether it was "sicuro e forte se non vede il disegno dell'altezza" and there is no question in this case that he meant a model.²⁴ But in the mid-fifteenth century a perspective could serve just about the same purpose, could be prepared rapidly, and was unquestionably cheaper. Alberti probably has a theoretical point when he says that a perspective does not have "straight lines and true angles," but the very fact that he lays emphasis on this points up the increasing popularity of architectural perspective renderings at the time.

It is, finally, also no accident that the method first clearly outlined by Alberti: plan, orthogonal elevations and section, but excluding perspectives as a primary tool,²⁵ began to be practically accepted only at the beginning of the sixteenth century when the old architectural system no longer functioned effectively. The so-called Castiglione letter of 1519 to Leo X, almost surely by Raphael,²⁶ is, after all, nothing else than (in

17. Text of the original document in the archives of the Arte della Lana, A. Doren, "Zum Bau der florentiner Domkuppel," *Repertorium f. Kunstwissenschaft*, XXI, 1898, pp. 249-262; XXII, 1899, pp. 220f. Reprinted by C. v. Fabriczy, "Brunelleschiana," *Jahrb. d. k.-preuss. Kunstsamml.*, XXVIII, 1907, Beiheft, pp. 15f.

18. Guasti, *Cupola*, doc. 47.

19. *Ibid.*, doc. 68. I do not share Sanpaulesi's opinion (P. Sanpaulesi, *La cupola di Santa Maria del Fiore*, Rome, 1941) that this phrase is evidence of far-reaching undocumented deviations from the legally binding cupola program of 1420 as modified in 1422 and clarified in 1426 (Guasti, *Cupola*, docs. 52, 75). It seems to mean no more than that in 1431 the cupola was practically finished and it was therefore no longer necessary to refer to the measuring system as demonstrated in the model.

20. For a recent discussion of problems connected with the construction of the cupola, see F. D. Prager, "Brunelleschi's Inventions and the Renewal of 'Roman Masonry Work,'" *Osiris*, IX, 1950, pp. 457-554. While some technical points have been clarified by Mr. Prager's study, many essential points remain obscure. I will return to both Mr. Prager's and Prof. Sanpaulesi's work in further studies on Brunelleschi. That the expression *disegnare* is by no means exclusively associated with the drawing board in the 14th century is demonstrated by documents concerning the rebuilding of SS. Annunziata in 1384 (P. R. Taucchi, *La chiesa e il convento della SS. Annunziata di Firenze e i loro ampliamenti fino alla metà del secolo XV*, Florence, 1942, p. 18 n. 1): "... dedi magistro Simoni et altero socio suo qui fuerunt duobus diebus cum pater Generali signando ecclesiam cum palis in orto ..." and "dedi Mattheo Bartoli legnaiuolo ... pro xxv palettis de castagno in orto pro insignio ecclesie." Thus *disegnare* may signify the making

of a drawing or a wooden model and also the actual laying out of a building on the site. *Misurare* is subject to similar varieties of meaning.

21. *De re aed.* II, 1, ed. princeps, Florence, 1485, fol. c.v: "Inter pictores atque architecti perscriptionem hoc interest: q(uod) ille prominentias ex tabula mo(n)strare umbris et lineis et angulis comminutis elaborat: Architectus spretis umbris prominentias istic ex fundamenti descriptione ponit: Spatia uero & figuras frontis cuiusque & laterum alibi constantibus lineis atq(ue) ueris angulis docet / uti qui sua uelit non apparentibus putari uisis / sed certis ratisq(ue) dimensionibus annotari.

Itaq(ue) modulos huiusmodi fecisse oportet: et eos ita diligentissime tecum ipso et una cum pluribus examinasse: et iterum atq(ue) iterum recognouisse / ut nihil in opere uel minimum futurum sit quod non et quid et quale ipsum sit & quas sedes & quantum spatii occupaturum sit / et quos ad usum futurum sit / teneas."

The passage "Spatia uero & figuras frontis cuiusque & laterum alibi" in addition to the "ex fundamenti descriptione" makes it clear that Alberti's *moduli* include plan, elevation and section. The *cuiusque* is all-inclusive!

22. Cf. Prof. Krautheimer's convincing reconstruction of Brunelleschi's experiments in R. Krautheimer and T. Krautheimer-Hess, *Lorenzo Ghiberti*, Princeton, 1956, pp. 234f. See also John White, *The Birth and Rebirth of Pictorial Space*, London, 1957, pp. 113f.

23. Cf. W. Lotz, *op.cit.*

24. Guasti SMF, doc. 150.

25. Cf. note 21 above.

26. V. Golzio, *Raffaello nei documenti . . .*, Vatican City 1936, pp. 78f. See also Wolfgang Lotz's discussion, "Das Raumbild . . .," pp. 213f. A reflection of the Alberti-Raphael link

contrast to Bartoli!) a *correct* translation and interpretation of the Alberti passage, made by a man for whom the problem of developing more effectual means of architectural representation to meet the needs of a changing

architecture was no longer a matter of theoretical interest but of pressing everyday necessity on the building site of new Saint Peter's. Alberti was, as usual, fifty years ahead of his time.

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is contained in Paolo Giovio's brief biography of Raphael (V. Golzio, *op.cit.*, pp. 191f.). Discussing Raphael's method of plan drawing, Giovio took his terminology almost literally from Alberti: "Id autem facile consequabatur descriptis in

plano pedali situ ventorum *lineis*, ad quarum normam, sicuti nautae ex pictae membrane magnetisque usu maris ac litorum *spatia* deprehendunt, ita ipse *laterum angulorumque naturam ex fundamentis certissima ratione colligebat.*"

BOOK REVIEWS

GUY DE Tervarent, *Attributs et symboles dans l'art profane, 1450-1600; dictionnaire d'un langage perdu*, I, Geneva, E. Droz, 1958. Pp. 220; 44 figs. (Travaux d'humanisme et Renaissance, xxix)

The student of classical and mediaeval iconography has at his disposal a goodly number of dictionaries and encyclopaedias from which he can extract well-documented information about almost any object—natural, man-made, or man-imagined—that has come to be invested with a symbolical significance. Not so with the scholar interested in the iconography of the Renaissance and the Baroque—an iconography even more complex than that of the Middle Ages owing to the enormous increase in the preoccupation with nonreligious subject matter, to the—*pace* Berliner—considerably greater “freedom of the individual,” and to the discovery or reactivation of classical sources either unknown or dormant before.

The admirable and ever-helpful Index of Christian Art at Princeton not only excludes, as its name implies, all purely secular themes but also, as its name does not imply, all works of art postdating the year 1400 (“it ends where art begins,” as Belle da Costa Greene once said); and the extremely useful *Reallexikon zur deutschen Kunstgeschichte*, apart from adducing non-Germanic material only by way of collateral evidence, has not as yet proceeded beyond the letter “E.”

The student of postmediaeval iconography, then, may well exclaim with Goethe's Wagner:

“Wie schwer sind nicht die Mittel zu erwerben,
Durch die man zu den Quellen steigt,
Und eh man nur den halben Weg erreicht,
Muss wohl ein armer Teufel sterben.”

And he who looks down upon such “Mittel” as contemptible shortcuts should bear in mind that Goethe himself, while making fun of good old Benjamin Hediger's *Mythologisches Lexicon* because of its “naïveté,” did not disdain to make extensive use of it.

A documented dictionary of postmediaeval symbolism (needless to say, such undocumented compilations as Ronchetti's *Dizionario illustrato dei simboli* are nearly useless because the one thing they do not do is

to lead to the “sources”) is therefore an urgent need. M. de Tervarent—the author of the excellent but still too little known *Enigmes de l'Art*, and anything but “naïve”—deserves our gratitude for a valiant effort to meet this need; and the very fact that he is single-handed undertaking a task Herculean in spite of its limitation to secular art, not only gives unity and a delightfully personal touch to his work but also promises well for its speedy consummation: the first volume already covers more than one-third of the alphabet. In the hands of big organizations rather than courageous individuals works of encyclopaedic scholarship have a way of aiming at completeness without ever getting completed.

M. de Tervarent's *Dictionary* accords, by definition, separate listings only to “attributes and symbols”—that is to say, to motifs either serving to characterize the properties of a person or personification (“attributes”) or independently expressing abstract ideas in visible form (“symbols”).¹ The names of mythological characters occur therefore—quite legitimately, although in this respect a certain amount of inconsistency is almost impossible to avoid—only in cross-references, except where such characters have either an “attributive” or a “symbolical” function in and by themselves (as when *Daphné* is listed as a personification of *Chasteté*, and *Hercule* as both a personification and an attribute of *Fortitudo*);² or where they have lent their names to one of the seven planets (as in the case with *Diane*, representing *La Lune*).³ The identification of countless other mythological figures with constellations has, however, not been considered (quite rightly so, because otherwise all the *dramatis personae* of the *Aratea* texts and Hyginus' *Poeticon Astronomicum* would have had to be incorporated),⁴ and purely heraldic devices have been excluded on principle, except for such items—all “special cases” in one way or another—as the *Echelle* of the Scaligeri, the *Griffon* of Perugia, the *Briquet* (flint-and-steel) of the Order of the Golden Fleece, and the *Guêpes* of the Vespucci.

Since attributes and symbols are, if I may be allowed a self-quotation, “the crystallizations of emotional experiences,” they are more often than not ambivalent or even multivalent. The lion may inspire fear as well

1. Needless to say, these two functions frequently coincide: a pair of scales is a “symbol” of Balance or Equity and can therefore be used as an “attribute” of Justice; a clock is a “symbol” of regularity and can therefore be used as an “attribute” of Temperance or even of individual persons whom a portraitist intended to credit with moderation and self-control.

2. It may be argued, therefore, that the Three Graces—so rich in symbolical as well as attributive associations, which are particularly well presented in more than three columns—may have deserved a separate heading instead of hiding themselves under a subheading of *Femme* (“Trois Femmes Formant un Groupe Entrelacé”); that Flora might have been included as a personification of Spring; that the dead Argus might have been listed as a frequent attribute of Mercury, etc.

3. The analogous relationship between Apollo and *Le*

Soleil is, however, indicated only by a cross-reference.

4. Yet the nonspecialists might have benefited if a brief entry *s.v.* “Constellations” had reminded him of the fact that also those constellations whose customary names do not immediately reveal a mythological connection (as is the case with Orion, Perseus, or Cassiopeia) had come to be identified with mythological characters in Hellenistic times, and that these identifications, notably in the case of the Zodiacal Signs, exerted some influence on Renaissance art. Not everybody knows nowadays that, for example, the Sign of the Virgin could be depicted, not only in the guise of Ceres-Demeter (“Virgo cum Spica”) but also in that of the rarely represented Erigone (only recorded instance in such an astronomical context: Peruzzi's Farnesina Ceiling).

as admiring reverence and thus become a symbol of destruction as well as salvation; the golden sandals worn by a pretty girl may outrage the puritan while delighting the less censorious observer and thus become symbols of vice as well as regal magnificence.

Accordingly, most of the entries in M. de Tervarent's dictionary are divided into sections (marked by Roman numerals), each of which deals with a specific aspect of the attribute or symbol in question. But whether a given motif has only one significance (as, for example, the "Woman Who Eats Her Heart Out") or fourteen (as, for example, the Compasses), the reader is always provided with textual as well as representational evidence (*Sources* and *Art*). And it is this thorough and, as it were, bifocal documentation by patiently assembled and felicitously coordinated evidence (much of it extremely hard to come by) which makes M. de Tervarent's work not only an indispensable tool for other people's research but a distinguished contribution in its own right. It is—somewhat like Martin Davies' National Gallery Catalogues—not so much a work of reference as a collection of highly concentrated little monographs. It keeps us constantly aware both of the continuity of the Western Tradition and of the differences that—this continuity notwithstanding—exist between classical antiquity, the Middle Ages and the Renaissance. And in several cases such happy little phrases as *par extension* or *par anti-phrasé* enable us to see the "iconological mind" actually at work.

Needless to say, no dictionary of this kind, particularly if it is a one-man job, can be complete, let alone perfect (which is a blessing because a complete and perfect *Dictionary of Attributes and Symbols* would make most further studies in the field unnecessary). But such omissions or inaccuracies as may be discovered—most of the latter mere typographical errors or slips of the pen—should not be enumerated in a review but rather pointed out to the author *in literis* so as to be used, at his discretion, in a supplement or, preferably, a second edition.⁵ They are, in fact, negligible as compared with the wealth of materials—and insights—now made available to humanists of every description and in part surprising even to the relatively experienced iconographer. Suffice it to mention such gems as the new interpretation of a very well-known relief by Giovanni da Bologna on the basis of a very little-known maiolica plate (col. 216, figs. 34, 36 bis); the decoding of such complex compositions as Pieter Claeissens II's *Allegory on the Treaty of Tournai* in the Musée Communal at Bruges (fig. 5); or the "transcription" (thus far available only in the author's all but inaccessible article in a local periodical) of the hieroglyphs—nearly twenty in number—on the tomb of Canon Hubert Milemans in Ste.-Croix at Liège.

5. The only *desideratum* this reviewer would like to mention here is an even more exhaustive list of the attributes which occur in emblem books, and characterize, at times almost weigh down, the personifications in Ripa's *Iconologia*. True, to extract all these items from the ancient editions, none of them faultlessly indexed, is a backbreaking task; but that it may have its

In short, M. de Tervarent's *Attributs et Symboles* is one of those rare dictionaries that, in addition to being used with profit, can be read with pleasure; it is the work of a lexicographer who is essentially a humanist.

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OTTO BENESCH, *The Drawings of Rembrandt*. First complete edition, in six volumes. London, Phaidon Press. Vols. III and IV, 1955; V and VI, 1957; the four comprising pp. 137-469 and figs. 596-1602 of the whole.

Otto Benesch's great publication of Rembrandt's drawings came to a conclusion in 1957 with the appearance of the fifth and sixth volumes. Since Valentiner's *Klassiker der Kunst* edition of Rembrandt's drawings has remained unfinished, Benesch is the first to offer the whole of the master's oeuvre (in full-sized reproductions), and his volumes will remain for some time the standard reference work on this subject. Considering its great importance, perhaps for generations to come, it seems justified to devote to it more than a cursory review—to express the high appreciation which his comprehensive work deserves, but also to give voice to some opinions which differ from his.

In the March 1956 issue of THE ART BULLETIN I reviewed the first two volumes, and the general remarks that there preceded my critical notes on Benesch's catalogue can also apply to the remaining four volumes. The author has consistently maintained the same method of investigation, and the division of this vast material according to period (vols. III and IV middle period, 1640-1650; vols. V and VI late period, 1650-1669) works out very well. The chronological test is again his principal basis of authentication: if a drawing fits into his tight chronological order, it is acceptable as an original, otherwise not. The stylistic comparisons also are carried out, as they were before, by relating characteristic graphic details of simultaneous drawings. In this way Benesch attains a considerable amount of certainty in the building up of a coherent oeuvre through the 1640's, '50's and '60's, as he had done before for the 1630's. Perhaps it is no accident—and indirectly a confirmation of the validity of his method—that Benesch seems least successful in the cases where his basis for comparison with other drawings is weak and he has to rely on the direct relationship to paintings—as I shall point out with the so-called "Munich" group. But I want to say first that, as in volumes I and II, so in the four succeeding ones, the author has tremendously enriched our knowledge and has shown many points in the master's development which hitherto were not so clearly

rewards is evident, to give one telling example, from such a feature as the Hat as a symbol of Liberty—a symbol that can be traced back to the ritual of *manumissio* in Roman law and was employed by no less illustrious a sculptor than Hendrick de Keyser in his tomb of William the Silent in the Nieuwe Kerk at Delft.

realized. This is particularly true of the middle period, which has gained more coherence through Benesch's order. Only here and there he overemphasizes the new structural features at the expense of the equally growing painterly qualities. The latter manifest themselves in softer tonal gradations, in an increasing atmospheric effect, in a growing transparency and richness of tonality. Both qualities, the structural and the painterly, are further strengthened in the '50's and '60's, as Benesch has also convincingly shown. In accordance with the general notion of Rembrandt's development, he emphasizes how the classical influence became paramount during the '50's.

I shall not record here every new finding, attribution, or redating, of which there are many. My critical remarks will relate only to those cases where I cannot agree with the author's opinion. Yet it should be said in advance that Benesch's addition of new and convincing material is impressive. The brief statistical statement that of the nearly 1000 Rembrandt drawings with which he deals in these four volumes, 75 have never been published before, will indicate this. And it is not only Rembrandt's work that Benesch has substantially enriched by his thorough research. He has also sharpened our eyes to the difference between the master's hand and those of gifted pupils. The most important discovery of this kind is the recognition of the identity of the *Master of the Mocking of Christ* (see our remarks under Cat. A 82), whose drawings come dangerously close to those of the mature Rembrandt and were mostly attributed to him in the official catalogues.

Considering the high standard of Benesch's work, it comes as a kind of shock to see his incorporation of a group of forgeries in Munich into Rembrandt's authentic work. While Benesch's critical judgment is on the whole severe, and in some cases even overcritical (as we shall point out later), it is hard to understand how he could absorb into his total picture this coarse group, which for some time has been suspected by the vast majority of Rembrandt critics as eighteenth century imitations. It is true that more than thirty years ago Benesch committed himself to their authenticity by publishing them as originals (*Mitteilungen d. Ges. f. verv. Kunst.*, 1925, pp. 25ff.). But his accumulation of so much convincing new material, and the resulting powerful impression of Rembrandt's unique quality ought—one would think—to have shaken his confidence in these drawings. It did not. Since this is such a salient point within the whole of his work, I shall deal with it first, taking the problem out of the consecutive listing of critical remarks on the catalogue items which will follow. I may also say that I am indebted to both Dr. Peter Halm and Dr. Wolfgang Wegner for their valuable help during a recent visit to the Graphische Sammlung in Munich, and for the photographs and technical information that I received from them. Dr. Wegner has incorporated the essence of his observa-

tions into the catalogue of the exhibition of Rembrandt Drawings in Munich in 1957 (pp. 21 and 22). He also spoke on this problem at the Rembrandt Congress in Munich (see *Kunstchronik*, May, 1957, p. 153).

Benesch of course realizes that among the Rembrandt drawings which came to Munich in the late eighteenth century from the collection of the Electors of the Palatinate are a great many imitations. With these, however, we are not concerned here, but only with the drawings of this provenience which Benesch considers originals, contrary to the often expressed opinion that they are doubtful. The most conspicuous cases are the following, listed by Benesch's catalogue numbers:

Cat. 1029 (fig. 1243)	} Sketches for an <i>Adoration of the Magi</i>
1030 (fig. 1245)	
1031 (fig. 1246)	
Cat. 967 (fig. 1181)	} Sketches for a <i>Baptism of the Eunuch</i>
968 (fig. 1182)	
Cat. 958 (fig. 1170)	Sketch for <i>Potiphar's wife Accusing Joseph</i>
Cat. 972 (fig. 1186)	Sketch for an <i>Entombment</i>
Cat. 1049 (fig. 1266)	Sketch for a <i>Lamentation</i>
Cat. 926 (fig. 1136)	Sketch for a <i>Lamentation</i>
Cat. 1058 (fig. 1276)	} Sketches on the theme of the <i>Conspiracy of Julius Civilis</i> . ¹
1059 (fig. 1277)	
1060 (fig. 1278)	

For a brief analysis I single out the *Adoration* sketch Cat. 1030 (fig. 1245), in order to indicate by what features such a forgery manifests its false character in contrast to Rembrandt's genuine sketches. There prevails an impression of confusion, a crude amassing of heavy strokes with no clear focusing on essential parts of the composition and with a lack of articulation in form and space that is appalling. Of course the reed-pen lines in a genuine drawing of the late '50's, as, for instance, in Cat. 1034 (fig. 1249), are also broad, but they never show such uniformity. They vary in accent and produce a "diaphanous" effect that lends atmosphere, spatial transparency, and tonal richness to the whole. (Benesch claims such "diaphanous" effect for the Munich drawings, but I fail to see it there in the same way.) Also the figures, in the genuine drawing, are very briefly indicated but with a full grasp of the whole form and not with such sloppy strokes as, for example, in the group in the lower left of the "Adoration," where the confusion is extreme. Rembrandt, even in his most fugitive sketches, shows a controlled organization that contrasts most vividly with the messy character of these imitations.

The arguments Benesch presents in favor of this group run as follows: The drawings are fairly exceptional in their graphic style as direct drafts for paintings (or etchings). In their extraordinary freedom they anticipate Rembrandt's latest phase. In the most conspicuous group, the sketches for the *Adoration of the Magi*,

1. I do not need to discuss further these three *Civilis* sketches after Cornelius Müller-Hofstede's article in *Särtyck ur konst-historisk Tidskrift*, xxv, 1-2, 1956, pp. 42ff., which I believe

has definitely proved their falsity by a thorough analysis and comparison with the only authentic sketch for this painting, also in Munich (Ben. Cat. 1061, fig. 1279).

he sees a step-by-step development of the composition toward that of the painting, which is now in Buckingham Palace (Bredius 592). In a similar way he believes he recognizes a development from the *Potiphar* drawing toward the Washington painting of this subject, and beyond that to the Berlin version (Bredius 523 and 524). According to Benesch the eighteenth century imitator who is responsible for many of the outright forgeries has added false signatures and a few other touches to these "genuine" sketches. But he believes that one can distinguish the ink of such later additions from that used by Rembrandt. And in order to back up his attributions stylistically Benesch refers to such drawings as Cat. 956 (fig. 1168), which is an original draft for the "Quintus Fabius Maximus" painting in Belgrade (Bredius 477); Cat. 969 (fig. 1183), also of the mid-fifties, which is a sketch after a much earlier painting, the grisaille of *St. John the Baptist Preaching*, and surrounded with a design for a frame; finally, Cat. 1175 (fig. 1395), which is an original sketch for the *Anatomy Lesson of Dr. Deijman* of 1656 (Bredius 414).

To take up the last argument first: these three drawings are certainly—as Benesch rightly remarks—among the best documented ones by the master. But, I must also say, they speak rather against than for Benesch's attributions, showing a much more striking brevity, with clear spatial distinctions and an equal clarity in the summary indication of forms. Many more drawings could be brought in for stylistic comparison, and they would all, by contrast, show up the false character of the Munich imitations. In a footnote² I suggest such a group because it will be fruitful for any Rembrandt student to carry out these comparisons. The drawings I have chosen all belong to Rembrandt's latest phase, while the *Adoration* sketches could not be dated after 1657 and the sketch for the *Potiphar* composition could not be after 1655—the dates of the respective paintings. But, as I mentioned before, Benesch explains their closeness to the latest phase as an anticipation of the latter, understandable in preparatory sketches where one often finds more freedom than in drawings done for their own sake and brought to a certain completion. There is some truth to this argument and we have in fact a few preparatory sketches for etchings that support

it [see Hind, *Rembrandt Etchings*, I, pls. 1ff., and above all, the sketch for the *Triumph of Mordecai* (Ben. Cat. 487, fig. 609; see my notes under that number in this review); also the study for the *St. Jerome Reading* (Ben. Cat. 886, fig. 1095)]. But these drawings are by no means messy. In their unusual sketchiness they show a well-articulated organization, as well as Rembrandt's high artistic economy. And if we look for convincing preparatory sketches for paintings, in addition to those already mentioned, the number is small,³ but they do not give a different impression. They vary in the degree of execution, yet never lack organization or gradation, not even in the sketches of utmost brevity. So much for the stylistic arguments for or against the Munich group. Benesch's assumption of a logical sequence in the *Adoration* sketches, of a step-by-step development toward the painting, can be discarded in view of the true nature of Rembrandt's preparatory studies. As Valentiner has already pointed out in his critical remarks on the Munich forgeries (*Rembrandt Handzeichnungen, Klassiker der Kunst*, II, footnote to No. 588, p. 404), and as the unquestionable sketches confirm, Rembrandt did not need so many drafts for his finished works—and in the *Adoration* group the change from one to the other is rather meaningless. In the cases where we can trace the relationship of a genuine sketch to a painting or etching, it is usually not very close, and we never find so many preparatory steps for one work because of the master's rare ability to express new concepts without laborious preparation.

Since stylistic judgments are open to argument (although I doubt that Benesch has many followers for his opinion here), it is all the more important to find unquestionable objective reasons of a technical or factual nature which can decide for or against the Munich group. In this respect I am particularly indebted to Dr. Wegner for various valuable observations. Some of them I arrived at independently, but it was Dr. Wegner who observed them first and I give here a brief account of them. Rembrandt was extraordinarily sensitive in the cooperation of pen and brush, as he was ingenious in the exploitation of these media. This is particularly true of his handling of the quill pen and—in his mature period—of the reed pen. The brush is

2. Cat. 1034 (fig. 1249): *Coriolanus Receiving the Deputies of the Roman Senate*
- 1044 (fig. 1260): *Arrest of Christ*
- 1045 (fig. 1261): *Ark of Noah*
- 1046 (fig. 1263): *Christ and the Woman Taken in Adultery*
- 1047 (fig. 1264): *Christ and the Woman Taken in Adultery*
- 1048 (fig. 1265): *Studies for a Lamentation, etc.* (See remarks under Cat. 1049 and 1050.)
- 1053 (fig. 1270): *Blind Belisarius Receiving Alms*
- 1055 (fig. 1273): *Parable of the Laborers in the Vineyard*
- 1056 (fig. 1274): *God Appearing to Abraham*
- 1068 (fig. 1286): *St. Peter at the Deathbed of Tabitha*

- 1160 (fig. 1382): *Interior with a Slaughtered Ox* (which Benesch relates to the "Potiphar" drawing, in order to strengthen its authenticity, but which again proves—it seems to me—just the opposite; see remarks under Cat. 1160).

3. In the 1640's there is a sketch for "Christ and the Woman Taken in Adultery" (Ben. Cat. 532, fig. 661), also one for the "Holy Family" in the Hermitage (Ben. Cat. 567, fig. 698) and one for the lost painting of the "Circumcision" (Ben. Cat. 581, fig. 712). In the '50's we find a sketch for the "Vision of Daniel" (Ben. Cat. 901, fig. 1113), and one for the "Denial of St. Peter" (Ben. Cat. 1050, fig. 1267; see my remarks under that number). There is one for "Homer dictating to a scribe" (Ben. Cat. 1066, fig. 1283), and there are three for the "Staalmeesters" (Ben. Cat. 1178-80, figs. 1401-03).

rarely used for structural drawing, but largely for tonal additions and integration. And where white is added it always has the function of correcting tonal accents. Not so with the forger. He uses the brush indiscriminately in the mixture with pen, a technical feature which is in no small way responsible for the "messy" character of the drawings. As Wegner observed: in Cat. 1029 (fig. 1243) the white is not used for corrections (for instance, in the figure of the Moor to the right of Mary), but underlies part of the drawing.

As for Benesch's contention that the false signatures which are found in many of these drawings are done with ink other than Rembrandt's, I must confess that I was unable to make this distinction, certainly not in such a prominent case as Cat. 1031 (fig. 1246), but also not in others. Benesch says concerning Cat. 1031: "inscribed with a falsified signature in purple-brown bistre over sepia; some penstrokes in sepia by the same alien hand." In contrast, Wegner's observation reads: "brush, in gray (sepia), gone over in brown, retouches most suspicious because the brown is of the same color as the drawing." For Cat. 1029 (fig. 1243) Benesch says: "falsified signature inscribed in purple-brown ink; the same ink has been used for the borderline," while Wegner observes: "signature of the same color as the drawing, and under the borderline." For Cat. 968 (fig. 1182) Benesch remarks: "inscribed by a later hand: Rembrandt," but Wegner says: "signature of the same color as the drawing." In the case of Cat. 958 (fig. 1170), however, for which Benesch says only: "signature by a later hand," Wegner finds it slightly different in color from the drawing. Here it is more brownish, while the drawing goes into a grayish-black. But there are at least three cases where, according to Wegner, the ink of the signature is of the same color as that of the drawing. As for Benesch's distinction of inks, whether by Rembrandt's hand or later additions, I must further cite Cat. 1049 (fig. 1266) where Benesch says: "there are some reworkings by a later hand, particularly in the man holding the winding-sheet. The inclined ladder in the upper right corner is also a later addition." Dr. Wegner, however, assures me that he cannot observe any later additions in this drawing, nor any difference in color. I may repeat that my own observations led, in general, to the same results as those stated by Dr. Wegner.

The study of the watermarks was not very conclusive. Nevertheless, some serious doubt is aroused by the fact that one of the Adoration drawings (Cat. 1029, fig. 1243) shows a watermark like Heawood 3073, which is there described as occurring on a late seventeenth century English paper. More compelling is Wegner's observation that on Cat. 967 (fig. 1181) there is *under* the drawing, in eighteenth century writing and in brown ink which differs from the color of the drawing, the inscription: "Giovanni di Wolan" (Benesch considers this inscription as by a later hand,

and must have overlooked that it is under the drawing; he reads it: "Giovanni di Wijnant"). Wegner discovered, as he reported at the Rembrandt Congress (Munich, 1957), that a "Wolan" is mentioned in the Mannheim archives of the eighteenth century as an administrator (*Verwalter*) in the service of the Mannheim branch of the Wittelsbachs, who were the successors of the Electors of the Palatine. And it was from there, from the Mannheim Wittelsbachs, that the Rembrandt drawings came to Munich.

This is all I can say about the Munich group at the present state of our knowledge, and it confirms the impression of falsity that the drawings have given to so many specialists in the past. Now we may turn to a consecutive listing of remarks on the items of Benesch's catalogue which seems to require discussion.

Cat. 483 (fig. 605) *Entombment of Christ*, Dresden, Kupferstichkabinett. Valentiner (501) had some qualms about the authenticity here, but decided "for the time being" (*einstweilen*) to leave the drawing in Rembrandt's work. Lugt (Louvre Cat. 1266) believes it to be a school work. Very close is Cat. 536 (fig. 666): *Susanna and the Two Elders*, Dresden, which Valentiner (260) definitely rejects, calling it a coarse, late imitation, while Lugt (personal communication) considers it also "school." I share the uneasy feelings of these critics about both drawings. Cat. 483 seems more consistent in its broad, fugitive treatment, but is, I believe, too coarse for Rembrandt, reminding one of the Munich group. In both drawings the figures are poorly indicated without any change of accents. The dating also gives trouble in both cases. I am inclined to add to these as similar in character and equally doubtful Cat. 534 (fig. 663): *Christ and the Woman Taken in Adultery* (also in Dresden), which Valentiner does not list and which Lugt (Louvre 1266) considers "school" and close to Cat. 483.⁴ The only convincing preparatory sketch for the composition of *Christ and the Woman Taken in Adultery* is Cat. 532 (fig. 661). It shows in the figure group the gradation of accents that clarifies the spatial relationships as we expect to find it, even in a very sketchy drawing by Rembrandt. And here, as elsewhere, the master does not fail to focus our attention on salient points of the composition. If I am right with these assumptions, the Dresden Cabinet, too, like the Munich one, inherited in its old collection a number of eighteenth century Rembrandt imitations that claim to be sketches for paintings. In fact Cat. 483 has been related to the painting of the *Entombment of Christ* now in Munich (Bredius 560), Cat. 536 to the painting of *Susanna and the Two Elders* now in Berlin (Bredius 516), and Cat. 534 Benesch relates to the London picture of *Christ and the Woman Taken in Adultery* (Bredius 566).

Cat. 484 (fig. 606) *Christ's Body Carried to the Tomb*, Rotterdam, Boymans Museum. Not convincing. Lugt considers this drawing as by the hand of the same pupil to whom he ascribes Cat. 483 and 534. In any

4. Lugt (Louvre 1266) ascribes to the same anonymous pupil other drawings, but I cannot recognize enough closeness

to Cat. 483 and 534 to give them all to one hand. See my remarks on Cat. 484, 487, and 533.

case he takes it away from Rembrandt. Benesch sees in it "a phase" between Cat. 483 and 485, but of these it is only the latter which I can accept as by Rembrandt and which may have served as a starting point for the imitator who drew the Dresden *Entombment* (Cat. 483), while the drawing under discussion here seems to me close to Philips Koninck (ascribed to him by G. Falck) and not a later imitation.

Cat. 485 (fig. 607) *Entombment of Christ*, Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett. See my remarks under Cat. 484. I can follow Benesch in his relating of Cat. 485 to the Amsterdam *Entombment* (Cat. 482 recto, fig. 602), and I do not think it impossible that both are preliminary sketches for the Munich painting of 1639 (Bredius 560). Such diverse efforts before the artist decided on a final composition seem to me more in line with Rembrandt's genius than a step-by-step development as Benesch assumes with the sequence of Cat. 483, 484, and 485.

Cat. 487 (fig. 609) *Triumph of Mordecai*, Lwów, Lubomirski Museum. Here we have, I believe with Benesch, a real preparatory sketch for the etching (Hind 172), and it seems significant that the deviations from the latter are considerable. This is the type of drawing that may have induced Benesch to retain the Munich group, because of the very broad sketchiness that it shows in the foreground figures. But here we have convincing gradations and also a remarkable distinctness in the salient points of the composition. Also the use of two different pens (quill and reed) makes full sense. The reed pen came second and brought in stronger accents, reinforcing the spatial effect and the drama of representation. Lugt did not accept this drawing (Louvre 1266) and added it to the group by an anonymous pupil to whom he also ascribes Cat. 483 and 534. It is understandable that he came to relate the broad foreground character of the Lemberg drawing (Cat. 487) to the equally broad sketchiness of the two doubtful Dresden ones (Cat. 483 and 534). But there is a difference, as I pointed out above. The problem, then, is: where exactly to draw the borderline in this type of preparatory sketch, between the "genuine" and the "apocryphal" ones? I am in sympathy with Lugt's reluctance to go too far in accepting any kind of loose and coarse breadth as by Rembrandt, but I believe that the Lemberg drawing, through its convincing integration of broader and finer accents and through its free yet meaningful relationships to the etching, can be retained for the master and gives a clue to the limit of his fugitive manner in such sketches.

Cat. 495 (fig. 619) *Jesus and His Disciples*, Paris, École des Beaux-Arts. Often doubted and given by Falck and Gerson to Philips Koninck, this seems, however, better than most of Koninck's drawings. To take it away from Rembrandt brings—as Lugt pointed out (Ec. d B-A 479)—serious consequences for a whole group of drawings, among them Cat. 543 (fig. 673), which is very close, and I am not sure that this is justified. Benesch's observation of various additions by a pupil's hand (he calls him Philips Koninck) may very

well explain the spotty and uneven character of the whole.

Cat. 500a (fig. 629) *Two Orientals in Discussion*, London, Count Antoine Seilern. The fact that this large drawing, in spite of its conspicuous signature and date, has no known provenience does not necessarily raise suspicion. But the handling seems labored and a clear spatial relationship between the two figures is lacking. If one compares, for instance, the sheet with studies of Orientals in Warsaw (Cat. 667, fig. 806) and related drawings, it causes some headache. Also the comparison with the etching of the *Three Orientals* (Jacob and Laban? Hind 183), which, according to Benesch, is connected, hardly speaks in favor of the drawing. I have not yet come to a final decision about its authenticity.

Cat. 510 (fig. 633) *Isaac Blessing Jacob*, Angers, Musée Turpin de Crissé. While there is no doubt that this drawing is superior to the copy which was exhibited as an original at the Frankfurt exhibition of 1924 (Swarzenski-Schilling, pl. 51), it may still be an old copy or a pupil's work because of weak passages in Isaac's hand and elsewhere.

Cat. 519 (fig. 641) *Return of the Prodigal Son*, Haarlem, Teyler Museum. I cannot see that "the washes and the architectural background are by another hand," and I notice that the catalogue of the Rembrandt Exhibition of 1956 (no. 108, p. 94) already doubted this assumption.

Cat. 525 (fig. 654) *Dismissal of Hagar*, Haarlem, Teyler Museum. The doubts of Valentiner and Hamann seem justified. Even if we limit our judgment to the line work (because the wash is later) the drawing lacks Rembrandt's surety and economy. The correcting strokes are repetitious and do not have the power of Rembrandt's definition.

Cat. 528a (fig. 655) *Prodigal Son with the Loose Women*, Orléans, Musée. Lacks the verve of the authentic drawings and is weak in various ways. Old copy? It is certainly inferior to Cat. 529 (fig. 658) of the same subject.

Cat. 533 (fig. 662) *Christ and the Woman Taken in Adultery*, Paris, Louvre. Benesch calls attention here to a heavy overworking by a later hand, but I fail to recognize Rembrandt's hand anywhere (in the pen lines) nor a convincing relationship to Cat. 532 (fig. 661). Lugt (Louvre 1266) ascribes the drawing to the same pupil who, in his opinion, did Cat. 483 (fig. 605) and 534 (fig. 663).

Cat. 534 (fig. 663) *Christ and the Woman Taken in Adultery*, Dresden, Kupferstichkabinett. I have expressed my doubts of this drawing under Cat. 483 (fig. 605), with which it is closely connected in its looseness and breadth. Lugt (Louvre 1266) mentions it as a pupil's drawing in the group connected with Cat. 533 (fig. 662).

Cat. 536 (fig. 666) *Susanna and the Two Elders*, Dresden, Kupferstichkabinett. See my rejection of this drawing under Cat. 483.

Cat. 538 (fig. 668) *Christ as Gardener Appearing to the Magdalen*, Muri-Berne, Coll. J. de Bruijn. This

drawing seems close enough to the painting of 1638 in Buckingham Palace (Bredius 559) to assume a connection as a preparatory sketch. Its style of draughtsmanship does not, I believe, exclude the late thirties. Cat. 537 (fig. 669), however, seems to go beyond the painting in its broader composition with a relaxation of the Baroque features.

Cat. 543 (fig. 673) *Christ Preaching*, Paris, Louvre. See my remark under Cat. 495 (fig. 619). Certainly not as convincing as Cat. 541 (fig. 671), to which Benesch relates it. On the other hand, the idea that it is an early preparatory sketch for the *Hundred Guilder Print* is engaging and makes it hard to reject this drawing.

Cat. 551 (fig. 681) *Cattle at a Watering Place* (Biblical scene?), Paris, Louvre. With Lugt (Louvre 1285) I hesitate here to accept the authenticity. The drawing is somewhat shaky, although not without freshness. Lugt's suggestion of Govaert Flinck for the related group of drawings described under Louvre 1242 seems worth following up.

Cat. 571 (fig. 703) *Haman in Disgrace*, Amsterdam, Rijksprentenkabinet. I share with Valentiner, Henkel, and Bauch the doubts about this compositional sketch. It seems daring, but the effect is too scattered.

Cat. 578 (fig. 710) *Adoration of the Shepherds*, Munich, Graphische Sammlung

Cat. 579 (fig. 711) *Adoration of the Shepherds*, Munich, Graphische Sammlung

Cat. 580 (fig. 708) *Adoration of the Shepherds*, Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum

These little sketches relating to the Munich painting (Bredius 574) are not very clear or convincing. They are of a type similar to the three sketches Cat. A42, A43, A43a (figs. 1043, 1044, 1045), showing, like these, relationships to paintings of Rembrandt. All may belong to the same group of small-scale imitations as Cat. 1058, 1059, 1060 (figs. 1276, 1277, 1278), the little sketches related to the *Julius Civilis* painting and mentioned above. See also footnote 1.

Cat. 581 (fig. 712) *Circumcision*, Munich, Graphische Sammlung. I am inclined to accept this drawing, with Benesch, as an original draft for the lost painting of the Circumcision of 1646 (old copy in Braunschweig, reproduced in Valentiner, *Rembrandt, Wiedergefundene Gemälde*, 2nd edition, p. 111). It seems a trifle weak, but better and clearer than the group of Munich imitations. The brushwork in particular holds together well and adds to the spatial clarification. If the drawing is authentic, Rembrandt anticipates here the style of the genuine draft for the *Julius Civilis* painting (Cat. 1061, fig. 1279), and such anticipation would not be unnatural in the second half of the '40's. There is also a relationship between this sketch and the questionable small compositional studies mentioned above (Cat. A43 and A43a) similar to the relationship in the *Julius Civilis* case between the original (Cat. 1061) and some small imitations (Cat. 1058, 1059, 1060).

Cat. 584 (fig. 715) *Blind Tobit and Anna with the Goat*, New York, Pierpont Morgan Library. Both

Lugt (Louvre 1280) and Valentiner (221) doubt the authenticity. The wash is certainly added by a later hand, as Benesch points out. But the pen work has not Rembrandt's surety and economy in all parts. I believe Valentiner calls it, with good reason "reichlich überladen," yet he realizes Rembrandt's invention in the composition.

Cat. 625 (fig. 759) *Entombment*, Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale. Hard to judge because of the false later addition of a yellowish wash. Yet the pen drawing, which should be Rembrandt's, differs slightly from the master's style, as Lugt (Bibl. Nat. 249) observed. He connects it with drawings of a similar character, and among these Val. 115, 164, 176, and 515 seem particularly close.

Cat. 639 (fig. 774) *Healing of Tobit*, Vienna, Albertina. Does not compare very favorably with Cat. 646 (fig. 780), which Benesch dates in the same years (1649-1650). Valentiner (253) had reservations here, and Lugt (personal communication) does not believe in Rembrandt's authorship. One could perhaps leave it in Rembrandt's work, but date it in the early '40's.

Cat. 651 (fig. 788) *Departure of the Prodigal Son*, Groningen, Museum. Even if one limits the judgment to the line work, considering the wash to be later, as Benesch does, the drawing shows a strange monotony and stiffness. It seems justified, therefore, to think of "a good pupil" as Valentiner (384) did. Lugt (Louvre 1275) suggests Barent Fabritius.

Cat. 728 (fig. 871) *Skeleton Rider*, Darmstadt, Hessisches Landesmuseum. Benesch dates this drawing and the *Coach* (Cat. 756, fig. 901) in 1649, relating both to the painting, *Cavalier on Horseback* (Bredius 255), which supposedly bears this date. The catalogue of the Rembrandt Exhibition of 1956 in Amsterdam (p. 123) doubts the existence of signature and date, and considers the manner of painting rather ten years later, as I should assume also. So there is no binding reason to link the *Coach* with the date of 1649. It rather belongs to the '50's in its rich and transparent tonal treatment. And the *Skeleton Rider* might be equally late, as Julius Held had assumed in connecting it with the *Polish Rider* (Bredius 279). In any case, I cannot see that the pose of the horse in the drawing is "entirely different" from that in the latter painting.

Cat. 756 (fig. 901) *A Coach*, London, British Museum. Beautiful drawing, which, however, I should date in the '50's. See the remark under Cat. 728.

Cat. 765 (fig. 906) *Young Woman in an Armchair*, Frankfurt-on-Main, Städelsches Kunstinstitut. This is an interesting case of the uncertainty there still can be in dating a drawing in the '40's or the '50's, as one may learn from Benesch's notes. I should plead, in this case, for the '50's.

Cat. 766 (fig. 908) *Portrait of a Scholar*, Budapest, Museum of Fine Arts. The portrait could well be a preliminary sketch for one of Rembrandt's etchings of the writing-master Coppenol (Hind 269 and 300). The style of the drawing fits better, I believe, into the '50's, while Benesch dates it about 1646. In Cat. 765

(fig. 906), to which Benesch relates it, we had a similar case of disagreement about the date. In the '50's there is still an increase in softness and richness of tonal treatment, and I notice this more advanced quality here.

Cat. 783 (fig. 930) *Lion Resting*, Chantilly, Musée Condé. The drawing, although close, seems coarser than Cat. 782 (fig. 924)—to which Benesch relates it—and may be only an old copy, as Lugt (personal communication) assumes.

Cat. 785 (fig. 932) *St. Albans Cathedral*, Haarlem, Teyler Museum

Cat. 786 (fig. 933) *View of Windsor Castle*, Vienna, Albertina

Cat. 787 (fig. 934) *View of London with Old St. Paul's*, Vienna, Albertina

Cat. 788 (fig. 935) *View of London with Old St. Paul's*, Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett

Of these much discussed "Views of London" I consider only the Berlin one (Cat. 788) as certainly by Rembrandt's hand. I agree with Benesch that all are done after some engraved or drawn representations and are not direct views on the spot. But the first three (Cat. 785, 786, 787) seem to me too crude for Rembrandt and I believe that Lugt's suggestion of the authorship of Govaert Flinck points to a very good possibility. Since the signatures on Cat. 785 and 786 are doubted by him, we had better base our judgment primarily on stylistic comparison. (Perhaps a systematic study of all the Rembrandt signatures will give us more certainty as to who is right in this case: Benesch or Lugt.) The stylistic comparison definitely speaks in favor of the Berlin drawing and against the three others. There are basic differences of quality which cannot be explained merely by the fact (which Benesch stresses) that the Berlin drawing (Cat. 788) is a freer and more imaginative version of the Vienna "View of St. Paul's" (Cat. 787). All three School drawings are coarser in both linework and wash, whether we compare the architecture or the brushwork of the middle distance, which is heavy and undifferentiated in the School drawings but shows a rich interpenetration of light and dark and fluid gradations from the foreground to the distance in the Berlin sketch. If I am right, this is an instructive case of the difference between the master's hand and that of a gifted pupil. But there remains the question how to explain the relationship of the two drawings, Cat. 787 and 788. Since I agree with Benesch that the second is based on the first one, is it not possible—as Professor Seymour Slive ingeniously suggested to me—that Rembrandt, in Cat. 788, showed his pupil Flinck what one could do, and should do, with the motif drawn by Flinck in Cat. 787? The fact that the pupil's drawing is dependent on an engraving by Wenzel Hollar (Parthey 916 or 918) does not interfere with such an assumption.

Cat. 790 (fig. 937) *View of a Town With a Bridge*, Paris, Musée des Arts Décoratifs

Cat. 791 (fig. 938) *View of the St. Anthoniessluis*, Danzig, City Museum

These two drawings Lugt (Louvre 1340) also ascribes tentatively to Flinck, as well as a similar drawing in the British Museum (Hind 5). I do not find it as easy here as in the case of the two "Views of St. Paul's" (Cat. 787 and 788) to distinguish between the master's and the pupil's hand, and I am therefore inclined to leave them, for the time being, in Rembrandt's work.

Cat. 815 (fig. 965) *Cottage Near the Entrance to a Wood*, Formerly New York, Jacob Hirsch. This important drawing is now in the collection of Robert Lehmann, New York.

Cat. 867 (fig. 1077) *Incredulity of St. Thomas*, Rotterdam, Boymans Museum. Not fully convincing and difficult to date.

Cat. 868 (fig. 1076) Unknown Biblical Subject, Formerly Boston, Goodman-Walker. Now New York, Coll. John W. Straus.

Cat. 898 (fig. 1107) *Christ on the Mount of Olives*, Dresden, Kupferstichkabinett. Seems to be an old imitation based on the etching (Hind 293). Compares poorly with the striking drawing of that subject in Hamburg (Cat. 899, fig. 1111), which is a preliminary study for the etching. But also the comparison with Cat. 626 (fig. 758), which Benesch dates 1648-1650, will show the confusion and weakness of the Dresden drawing. See also Cat. 904 (fig. 1117) of *Hagar in the Desert*, where the angel has a superficial similarity but is infinitely superior in clarity, brevity, and sensitivity of touch.

Cat. 899 (fig. 1111) *Christ on the Mount of Olives*, Hamburg, Kunsthalle. See remarks under Cat. 898 and 900.

Cat. 900 (fig. 1112) *Christ Healing a Leper*, Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett. Could well be from the middle, rather than the beginning of the '50's, like some other drawings (Cat. 899, fig. 1111; 902, fig. 1114; 903, fig. 1110; 904, fig. 1117), all of which Benesch ties to the year 1652. Valentiner, too, gives a later date to these.

Cat. 902 (fig. 1114) *Holy Family Departing for Egypt*, Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett

Cat. 903 (fig. 1110) *St. Joseph and Mary Seated by the Cradle with the Child*, London, British Museum

Cat. 904 (fig. 1117) *Hagar and Ishmael with the Angel in the Desert*, Hamburg, Kunsthalle.

See remarks on these three drawings under Cat. 900.

Cat. 926 (fig. 1136) *Lamentation*, Munich, Graphische Sammlung. Belongs to the Munich group of imitations, discussed above.

Cat. 934 (fig. 1145) *Studies for a Deposition*, New York, Dr. A. Hamilton Rice.

These expressive studies have a closer relationship to the painting, *Descent from the Cross*, in Washington (Bredius 584) than to the etching of 1654 (Hind 280). Benesch calls the painting a School piece, but gives no reason for taking away this masterwork from Rembrandt.

- Cat. 958r (fig. 1170) *Potiphar's Wife accusing Joseph*, Munich, Graphische Sammlung
 Cat. 967 (fig. 1181) *Baptism of the Eunuch*
 Cat. 968 (fig. 1182) *Baptism of the Eunuch*
 Cat. 972 (fig. 1186) *Entombment of Christ*
 Cat. 1029r (fig. 1243) *Adoration of the Magi*
 Cat. 1029v (fig. 1244) *Adoration of the Magi*
 Cat. 1030 (fig. 1245) *Adoration of the Magi*
 Cat. 1031 (fig. 1246) *Adoration of the Magi*

These drawings belong to the Munich group of imitations.

Cat. 1032 (fig. 1247) *Presentation in the Temple*, Rotterdam, Boymans Museum. See remarks under Cat. 1033.

Cat. 1033 (fig. 1248) Study for a *Presentation in the Temple*, Paris, Louvre. Not convincing as a late drawing and as a preparatory sketch for the etching of the *Presentation in the Dark Manner* (Hind 279). Lugt's suggestion (Louvre 1127) that this is an early drawing of about 1630 seems more plausible. In contrast the breadth and transparency of Rembrandt's drawings of the advanced '50's can be clearly seen in Cat. 1032 (fig. 1247) and 1034 (fig. 1249), both brilliant examples which help one to realize (by comparison) the false character of the Munich group. The Rotterdam drawing alone (Cat. 1032, fig. 1247) is a convincing study for the etching of the *Presentation in the Dark Manner*.

Cat. 1034 (fig. 1249) *Coriolanus receiving the Deputies of the Roman Senate*, Rotterdam, Boymans Museum. See remarks under Cat. 1033.

Cat. 1049r (fig. 1266) *Studies for a Lamentation*, Munich, Graphische Sammlung

Cat. 1049v (fig. 1268) *Studies for a Lamentation*, Munich, Graphische Sammlung

This drawing belongs to the Munich group of imitations, discussed above. Here the comparison with the genuine study for a *Lamentation* (Cat. 1048, fig. 1265) reproduced on the same page is most instructive. We notice again, with the forgery, the lack of spatial order. The figures are clumsily indicated, without grasp of form, and Rembrandt's touch is completely absent. See also remarks under Cat. 1050.

Cat. 1050 (fig. 1267) *Denial of Christ*, Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional. Very instructive as a genuine sketch for the painting in Amsterdam (Bredius 594), and for comparison with the Munich forgeries reproduced on the opposite and the same page (Cat. 1049r and v, figs. 1266, 1268). The vigorous strokes of this sketch do not lack variation of accent or coherence in the chiaroscuro effect. Lugt thinks here of Nicolaes Maes (see remarks under Ec. des Beaux-Arts, 480). Maes often comes close to Rembrandt, but I believe this drawing is too strong and sparkling to be his work. Benesch, in his notes, rejects the drawing of the same subject in the École des Beaux-Arts (Val. 465 and Lugt 480) as a school work. However, it seems to me a clear original of about 1655, in which the relationship to the painting is still remote, but one can well imagine

that out of this elaborate composition developed the more concentrated one of the painting.

Cat. 1056 (fig. 1274) *God Appearing to Abraham*, Paris, Louvre. In his notes on this drawing Benesch rejects Valentiner 7 and 8, which deal with the same subject and which he considers school, without giving any valid reasons. I believe that these two drawings have a good claim to authenticity and I agree with Valentiner's dating of 1647-1650.

Cat. 1058 (fig. 1276) *Conspiracy of Julius Civilis*, Munich, Graphische Sammlung

Cat. 1059 (fig. 1277) *Conspiracy of Julius Civilis*, Munich, Graphische Sammlung

Cat. 1060 (fig. 1278) *Conspiracy of Julius Civilis*, Munich, Graphische Sammlung

These three drawings belong to the Munich group of imitations. See also footnote 1.

Cat. 1107 (fig. 1326) through Cat. 1129 (fig. 1352). Studies of nudes, the majority in Munich. I find it difficult to accept in its entirety this group in which the quality varies tremendously. Benesch argues that all these drawings are so closely interrelated that one cannot omit any of them as works of Rembrandt. But since the forger who was at work in the Munich group usually took genuine sketches as a basis for his own production, we must face the possibility of an uneven success on the part of such an imitator in his approach to Rembrandt's originals. In any case I feel unable to realize the master's hand in the following: Cat. 1108 (fig. 1327), 1109 (fig. 1332), 1110 (fig. 1328), 1111 (fig. 1329), 1112 r and v (figs. 1330-1331), 1113 (fig. 1336), and 1114 r and v (figs. 1334-1335). All are in Munich, or were formerly in Munich, except for Cat. 1109 which belongs to Dresden, and they vary too strikingly in quality from the convincing nudes, of which I name as the most powerful ones: Cat. 1107 (fig. 1326), 1121 (fig. 1343), 1122 (fig. 1344), 1123 (fig. 1345), 1127 (fig. 1348), 1137 (fig. 1351), also 1129 (fig. 1352) which, however, has suffered. Grander still are the latest nudes of about 1660: Cat. 1142 (fig. 1366), 1143 (fig. 1367), 1144 (fig. 1368), 1146 (fig. 1370), 1147 (fig. 1371), but the good ones cited above can stand the comparison.

Cat. 1160 (fig. 1382) *Interior with a Slaughtered Ox*, Berlin, Kaiser Friedrich Museum. Benesch connects this drawing closely with the Munich sketch of *Potiphar's Wife Accusing Joseph* (Cat. 958, fig. 1170), which I ascribe above to the Munich imitator. There is a superficial closeness, but the Berlin drawing has a density, a summarizing power and spatial clarity which the *Potiphar* drawing lacks. Also the technical treatment, with its richness of light gradations, is much more convincing in Cat. 1160.

Cat. 1184 (fig. 1409) *Young Man Holding a Flower*, Paris, Louvre. In discussing this drawing Benesch rejects as school works the *Young Man Seated* in Stockholm (HdG 1573 and Kruse IV, 14), also the *Young Man Standing* of the Véver Collection (formerly in Seymour Haden's possession, Lippmann 149). Lugt, however (Louvre 1151), accepts these

two, dating them a few years earlier. He thinks it probable that they, like the Paris drawing, represent Titus. I agree with him on these points. For the identification with Rembrandt's son one might bring in the etching of Titus of 1656 (Hind 261), where the likeness is particularly close to the Véver drawing.

SECTION ON COPIES AFTER UNKNOWN ORIGINALS

Cat. C47 (fig. 1017) *Supper at Emmaus*, Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum. I see no reason to take away this impressive drawing from Rembrandt and cannot discover in it any signs of a copyist's hand. Apart from the convincing expression, the technique, too, is wholly Rembrandt's and functions here as only in work by the master's hand. The comparison with the genuine drawings to which Benesch relates it fortifies, rather than weakens, the impression of its authenticity.

Cat. C50 (fig. 1019) *Tarquin and Lucretia*, Dresden, Kupferstichkabinett. May well be by Rembrandt, as also Valentiner (873) and Lugt (personal communication) assume; does not look to me like a copy, in its fresh and easy strokes.

Cat. C69 (fig. 1628) *Tobias and the Angel on Their Journey*, Vienna, Albertina. Does not look like a copy. Clumsy hands occur with Rembrandt, but they always fit into the whole, as they do here.

Cat. C81 (fig. 1631) *Betrothal of the Holy Virgin*, Washington, National Gallery. Hardly a copy, but rather a free version of Dürer's woodcut by Rembrandt's own hand.

Cat. C89 (fig. 1633) *Lot and His Family Leaving Sodom*, Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale. Beautiful original and by no means a copy, therefore rightly praised by Lugt (Bibl. Nat. 246). Cat. C100 (fig. 1640), to which Benesch relates it, is much weaker and quite obviously a copy. See my remarks under Cat. A36, another original of the same subject, perhaps a few years later, which Benesch rejects.

Cat. C96 (fig. 1637) *Crucifixion*, Weimar, Staatliche Kunstsammlungen. This is an original of about 1653-1655 in which I cannot discover any trace of its being a copy.

SECTION ON ATTRIBUTIONS

Cat. A33 (fig. 1028) *Harquebusier*, Copenhagen, Kobberstiksamling. The attribution to Flinck is convincing and backed up by the old inscription. This is another interesting case to show how close Flinck could come to his master—so much so that an excellent connoisseur like Byam-Shaw, who first published the drawing, thought it to be a Rembrandt.

Cat. A35 (fig. 1053) *Sarah Presenting Hagar to Abraham*, Formerly Dresden, Friedrich August II Collection. See remarks under Cat. A51.

Cat. A35a (fig. 1037) *Allegory on Art Criticism*, Formerly Dresden, Friedrich August II Collection. This crisp and lively drawing—which obviously is a biting caricature of the contemporary type of art critic—could well be Rembrandt's own, and as such

has great significance, coming at a time (1644) when the artist's popularity began to wane. Even Benesch does not doubt that the inscription of the date is by Rembrandt's own hand.

Cat. A35b (fig. 1038) *View from the Blauwbrug*, Paris, Frits Lugt Collection. A convincing original by Rembrandt of the 1640's and of fine quality. The drawing is very close to Cat. A37 (fig. 1039) and Cat. A38 (fig. 1040), which are also originals. See my remarks under those numbers.

Cat. A36 (fig. 1041) *Lot and His Family Leaving Sodom*, London, British Museum. I see no reason to cast doubt on this impressive drawing, although it has suffered from later additions. I would agree with Hind and Lugt in dating it in the '50's, not far from the drawing of the same subject in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris (246), which Benesch considers a copy (Cat. C89), but which Lugt—and I agree with him—praises as a fine original of 1652-1655.

Cat. A37 (fig. 1039) *Landscape with a Thatched Cottage*, London, British Museum. Stands very well the comparison with Cat. 837 (fig. 981), to which it is quite close. The drawing is far too good and subtle for the mediocre Ruyscher.

Cat. A38 (fig. 1040) *View from Near the Anthoniespoort*, London, British Museum. Looks good but may not be quite as late as Cat. 1335 (fig. 1569), to which Hind relates it. Cat. 847 (fig. 995) is very close and the far distance here is drawn with the same free finesse. Benesch criticizes this landscape as too impressionistic and lacking in accent. I see in it just the right combination of freedom and clarity, and it is certainly not lacking in distinct accents or subtle gradations, not to speak of Rembrandt's superb economy that is also evident here. Therefore Lugt's high praise of this drawing seems fully justified.

Cat. A42 (fig. 1043) *Christ and the Woman Taken in Adultery*, Munich, Graphische Sammlung

Cat. A43 (fig. 1044) *Circumcision*, Munich, Graphische Sammlung

Cat. A43a (fig. 1045) *Circumcision*, Munich, Graphische Sammlung

See my remarks about these three questionable sketches under Cat. 578 and 579.

Cat. A49 (fig. 1036) *The Wicked Servant Begs for Pardon*, Paris, Louvre. Convincing drawing that could well be dated close to 1640, as Lugt suggests and also Valentiner (366a) indicates in his footnote. The drawing of the same subject in Chantilly (Cat. 618, fig. 749) is about a decade later, and therefore no obstacle to accepting this one.

Cat. A51 (fig. 1055) *Sarah Presenting Hagar to Abraham*, Paris, Louvre. This drawing forms a group with Cat. A35 (fig. 1053) and Cat. A52 (fig. 1056), which Benesch tends to give to Rembrandt, while Lugt (Louvre 1205) suggests Ferdinand Bol, at least for Cat. A51 and A35, while for A52 he thinks of Bol or Flinck. All three drawings certainly have a strong Rembrandtesque flavor, but the drawing of the figures is petty and the configuration lacking in power and

drama. The "Bol" suggestion seems to me, so far, the best possibility, certainly for Cat. A51 and A35.

Cat. A52 (fig. 1056) *Amnon Trying to Seduce Tamar*, Paris, Louvre. See remarks under Cat. A51.

Cat. A57 (fig. 1059) *Abraham Comforting Isaac*, Rotterdam, Boymans Museum. The drawing is a little weaker than Cat. A36 (fig. 1041), to which Benesch relates it, but perhaps only because the artist has not brought in here, as he usually did, the more final accents. The comparison with Cat. 649 (fig. 781) and 647 (fig. 786) leads to a similar conclusion.

Cat. A62 (fig. 1642) *Tower of the Westerkerk*, Amsterdam, Museum Fodor. Too good for a pupil like Abraham Furnerius. I see no reason to deny its origin by Rembrandt in the early 1650's. The pen strokes here are very similar to those in the sketch, the *Ruins of the Old City Hall* of 1652 (Cat. 1278, fig. 1507).

Cat. A66 (fig. 1646) *Supper at Emmaus*, Amsterdam, Rijksprentenkabinet. This drawing is very close to the genuine sketch for the etching of the *Presentation in the Dark Manner*, Hind 279 (Ben. Cat. 1032, fig. 1247), and itself, I believe, is a free preparatory study for the etching of *Christ at Emmaus* (Hind 282). Rembrandt corrected himself in the positions of the disciples' legs under the table. Benesch, not considering any corrections, criticizes the disciple on the left as lacking in clarity, quoting Henkel, who, however, does not reject this drawing. In addition Benesch finds it impossible for Rembrandt that the lower part of Christ's figure is not visible under the table. I cannot accept this last argument and find that the etching, too (which nobody would doubt), is not absolutely clear in all parts. There the table top seems to cut into the figure of the standing disciple on the left. But such lapses occur, even with Rembrandt, and it is always the total effect, the major accents and their interrelationships, which should be more decisive for our judgment on the authenticity than minor details. The painting in Paris (Bredius 597), which is now rightly realized as a school work, is by no means close enough to the drawing to allow any binding conclusions for the latter. Titian's influence, however, which Stechow assumed, is evident in its composition.

Cat. A70 (fig. 1673) *Christ before Caiaphas*, Basel, C. A. de Burlet

Cat. A71 (fig. 1679) *Jesus at the Well near Sychar*, Basel, Private Collection

Cat. A75 (fig. 1677) *Christ on the Mount of Olives*, Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett

For these three drawings see notes under Cat. A82.

Cat. A76 (fig. 1668) *Study for Jupiter's Visit to Philemon and Baucis*, Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett. This study is, I believe, inseparable from the other *Philemon and Baucis* sketch also in Berlin, which has an inscription by Rembrandt's hand, and which Benesch accepts (Cat. 960, fig. 1172). Perhaps he misses, in Cat. A76, "the geometrically abbreviated style" which he considers essential for the mid-fifties (see Cat. 954, fig. 1165) and which he finds in Cat. 960. I should, however, consider such a concept too narrow as an

exclusive criterion for what Rembrandt could have done at a certain time, because the penmanship of the two drawings is in other ways extremely close. Lugt, who accepted both sketches—as did Valentiner—suggested that they might be a little earlier than the painting, which dates from 1658 (Bredius 481). Benesch follows him in this respect for Cat. 960, dating it about 1655. The same date, I believe, must be given to Cat. A76.

Cat. A80a (fig. 1686) *Portrait of a Man in a Wide-brimmed Hat*, Cambridge, Mass., Fogg Art Museum. Benesch assumes two stages in this sketch. He thinks that a pupil started head and bust of the sitter and that the master himself may well have added the mantle with its broad sweep of lines, so similar to the well-known portrait drawings in Amsterdam and Paris (Cat. 1181, fig. 1407, and Cat. 1182, fig. 1408). But the drawing is of one piece—as everyone can be convinced before the original—and moreover, it is hard to assume that the mature Rembrandt left the commission of a portrait in its first, most crucial stage to a pupil. A division of hands cannot be assumed because of the absolute identity of the technical and stylistic treatment in the upper and lower parts of the drawing. The expression is of a more aggressive character than in the above-mentioned portrait drawings (I cannot agree with Benesch that it is lifeless), but Rembrandt was also capable of such digressions in his painted portraits under the impact of a sitter's personality, and did not exclusively apply a contemplative expression. Moreover, the strokes used for the quick characterization of the face are of the same type as in the other late portrait drawings, and done with similar economy. As I pointed out in my short article on this drawing, in the center of the bust there is some slight damage and restoration, but, I may add that it is still clear in this area that Rembrandt experimented with the position of the sitter's left arm. The contour of the hand appears twice, one above the other. The lower position is the final one and connects with the horizontal line of the arm, which is wrapped in the mantle pressing it against the body. Such a manner of wearing a rather loose cape is not uncommon in portraits of the period and we find it, for instance, in a Terborch portrait of a gentleman in the Metropolitan Museum. Benesch mistakes the dark edge of the cape for a sling supporting the arm. The Paris drawing (Cat. 1182, fig. 1408), which is in perfect condition, seems still a little broader than the Fogg sketch, and may therefore be a few years later. But in the latter there is a similar impression of powerful presence, and the same miraculous transparency of bold slashing reed-pen strokes.

Cat. A80b (fig. 1688) Fragments of two drawings pasted together: *Laban Guiding Lea* (left) and *Angel Seated* (right), Chatsworth Settlement. The left-hand fragment with Laban and Lea or Rachel seems to me no less an original than the right half, and correctly dated by Valentiner in about 1650.

Cat. A82 (fig. 1674) *Mocking of Christ*, Chatsworth Settlement. Benesch convincingly forms around this *Mocking of Christ* a group of drawings of the same

character (Cat. A70, fig. 1673; A71, fig. 1679; A75, fig. 1677; A96, fig. 1671; A100, fig. 1675; A104, fig. 1672; A107, fig. 1676; A115, fig. 1670; A116, fig. 1708; A118, fig. 1678) and it seems to me that this is one of his most valuable discoveries. All are somewhat looser and a little more schematic than the master's drawings, but they come dangerously close to his style of about 1652-1655. Few of them have been doubted so far, which proves their closeness to Rembrandt, but it is undeniable that they are of a lighter caliber and looser construction. Benesch's suggestion that this pupil might also be the author of the later drawings Cat. A119 (fig. 1693) and A95 (fig. 1692), which are sketches for the school painting of *Pilate Washing His Hands* in the Metropolitan Museum (Bredius 595) is interesting but needs further links to make it certain. The identification of this "Master of the Mocking of Christ" with one of the mature Rembrandt's pupils would be of the utmost importance.

Cat. A93 (fig. 1660) *Judith Returning in Triumph*, London, British Museum. Benesch links this drawing with a whole group (listed below under Cat. A94) in which he believes he recognizes the style of a single, still unidentified pupil. He considers a characteristic feature of this anonymous draughtsman "hands whose fingers are reminiscent of the pointed prongs of a fork." But such hands occur also in genuine Rembrandt drawings and—as we stated above—small details like these do not always provide a compelling reason for the rejection of an otherwise convincing drawing. This is particularly true here, with the *Triumph of Judith*, which seems to me an impressive example of Rembrandt's mature style of about 1652-1655 and which has been unconditionally accepted by Valentiner, Hind, Lippmann, Henkel, and many more. Valentiner places it close to the painting of "Quintus Fabius Maximus" (Bredius 477) and the etching of the *Three Crosses* (Hind 270), both of the year 1653. He calls it "an imposing composition." In fact, the drawing is close, in spirit and style, also in individual motifs, to these major works by Rembrandt. Lugt, whom Benesch follows to a certain degree in putting together this anonymous group, has not included the *Judith* drawing.

Cat. A94 (fig. 1662) *Rest on the Flight to Egypt*, London, British Museum. It is in connection with this drawing, which I believe could well be a pupil's variation of an authentic Rembrandt, that Benesch links up a whole group as by the same anonymous draughtsman. However, this group is not homogeneous enough to be convincing as the work of one hand. It varies in quality. Some of the drawings seem to be more or less copies after Rembrandt [such as Cat. A74 (fig. 1649), A88 (fig. 1659), A99 (fig. 1667)]. Others look like variations based on Rembrandt's inventions. And a genuine Rembrandt is included, as we saw in the *Judith* drawing (Cat. A93, fig. 1660). Also Cat. A113 (fig. 1663) seems to me better than the rest, and may be a Rembrandt drawing which inspired a pupil to variations of this style.

Cat. A96 (fig. 1671) *Christ before Annas*, London, Heirs of Henry Oppenheimer

Cat. A100 (fig. 1675) *Christ and the Woman of Samaria*, Munich, Graphische Sammlung

Cat. A104 (fig. 1672) *Sermon of St. Mark*, New York, Pierpont Morgan Library

For these three drawings see notes under Cat. A82.

Cat. A105a (fig. 1700) *Entombment of Christ*, New York, Walter C. Baker Collection. I still believe in the authenticity of this beautiful drawing after Mantegna. Benesch's technical argument against it is by no means compelling. There are other cases where the master deviates from his usual technique.

Cat. A107 (fig. 1676) *Christ Finding the Apostles Asleep*, Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale

Cat. A115 (fig. 1670) *Christ before Pilate*, Stockholm, Nationalmuseum

Cat. A116 (fig. 1708) *Joseph Telling His Dreams*, Warsaw, National Museum

Cat. A118 (fig. 1678) *Christ and the Woman of Samaria*, Weimar, Goethe-Nationalmuseum

For these four drawings see notes under Cat. A82.

ADDENDA TO THE CATALOGUE

Cat. Add. 1 (fig. 1709) An unidentified scene of Justice, Paris, Louvre

Cat. Add. 2 (fig. 1710) An unidentified scene of Justice, Amsterdam, Rijksprentenkabinet

The attribution of these two drawings to the very early Rembrandt by Van Regteren-Altena, which Benesch accepts, is not fully convincing. The painting, *Adoration of the Magi*, in the Heldring Collection, with which Van Regteren-Altena connects them, may be by the same hand, but this is also far from certain.

Cat. Add. 10 (fig. 1717) *St. John the Baptist Preaching*, Vienna, Private Collection. This belongs, I believe, to the doubtful group of studies which pretend to be preliminary sketches for paintings by Rembrandt, as, for instance, Cat. 483 (fig. 605), 534 (fig. 663), 536 (fig. 666) and a number of drawings in the "Munich" group of imitations (see above). We have convincing sketches for the Berlin grisaille painting of 1636—to which this drawing claims to belong—in Cat. 140 (fig. 151), 141 (fig. 155), and 142 (fig. 152), and their style can hardly be linked to the vagueness of this sketch. The freest convincing study for a known work, the sketch for the etching of the *Triumph of Mordecai* (Cat. 487, fig. 609) offers an instructive comparison and makes one realize that Cat. Add. 10, like the other imitations, lacks a clear focusing on vital points in the composition, as well as Rembrandt's always noticeable gradations from the foreground to the middle distance. In addition, the line often runs into meaningless curvatures. Benesch explains the lack of spatial articulation in this sketch by calling it an early stage in the development of the composition. But a certain articulateness in this respect must be expected of every real Rembrandt, even in a preliminary sketch of a fugitive character.

In a catalogue of this size, dealing with more than 1500 items, it is to be expected that a number of questions will remain open and that not all the decisions of the author could be accepted by every Rembrandt specialist. Should Benesch, then, have waited until our knowledge is more complete and a still greater certainty could be attained? I doubt it. Benesch's work is as courageous as it is timely and well done. As it stands, it gives a tremendous impetus to Rembrandt research and a much broader basis than we had before. Uncertainties will never be completely eliminated. The reasons for this lie partly in Rembrandt's wide range of expression, partly in the intense influence which the master exerted throughout his life on a great many pupils, among them very gifted ones. The logical next step, besides the always desirable concentration on individual drawings and limited problems (as, for instance, Cornelius Müller-Hofstede's successful analysis of the *Civilis* sketches), would be to devote more systematic research to Rembrandt's important pupils. A figure, for example, like Govaert Flinck who—as I have hinted here and there—seems to have come dangerously close to the master's drawings, is still largely unexplored as a draughtsman. And what do we know for certain about the drawings of Carel Fabritius or Aert de Gelder, to name only a few of Rembrandt's best pupils? Their style will perhaps be grasped more easily now that Benesch has given us an unusually complete and truly imposing view of the master's draughtsmanship. There is no doubt that his publication will remain one of the great landmarks in the history of Rembrandt research. But also the Phaidon Press deserves our gratitude for carrying out this monumental work in a dignified form and with excellent reproductions.

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CHARLES L. KUHN, *German Expressionism and Abstract Art: The Harvard Collections*, Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1957. Pp. 150; 218 pls.; 1 in color. \$8.75.

BERNARD S. MYERS, *The German Expressionists*, New York, Frederick A. Praeger, 1957. Pp. 401; 238 illustrations; 36 color plates; numerous line drawings. \$15.00.

PETER H. SELZ, *German Expressionist Painting*, Berkeley, University of California Press, 1957. Pp. 315; 180 black-and-white plates; 38 color plates; 37 line drawings. \$18.50.

In a generation characterized by drastic reevaluations of artistic concepts of the past, the recent popularity of German Expressionist art still represents one of the most thoroughgoing changes of taste. In the fall of 1957 alone, more than a half dozen exhibitions of German Expressionism were held in New York City in addition to the immense comprehensive show at the Museum of Modern Art and several others in various parts of this country. Others continue to follow. The

season also saw the publication of five impressive books in the United States, not only presenting this art for the first time to the English-reading public, but also forming the most comprehensive studies in any language.

Several varied reasons are advanced in explanation. It is often argued that the modern French masters have virtually disappeared from the art market, and hence dealers have been forced to replenish their stocks from the only available source—the work of relatively unpopular artists, such as the lesser Cubists and Fauves, and the Expressionists. Others protest that the prestige of the School of Paris and its canons of taste had for long stood as insurmountable obstacles to an acceptance of German and northern European art, so different in concept and in technical means from their Latin-inspired neighbors. They see in the post-war years the emergence of radically differing concepts in art, with the advanced American painters in the lead—concepts that no longer value to the same extent the esthetics of the School of Paris. Although differing in spirit, the American "Abstract-Expressionists" seem clearly to evoke the Germans as precursors.

Finally, for historical reasons that are well known, German culture had been relatively unknown or unsympathetically received in America and other European countries between 1914 and the late 1940's. This is despite the fact that in the last decades of the nineteenth century there were as many American art students studying in Germany as in Paris. In the present century, however, Paris became the undisputed center for the study of art, and Paris dealers were almost unopposed in their control of the transatlantic trade in modern art. The first major exhibitions of modern art in America, at Stieglitz' gallery and the Armory Show of 1913, were almost completely dominated by the masters of Paris, especially the Cubists. When Walt Kuhn visited the International Exhibition of the *Sonderbund* at Cologne in 1912—the first great show of modern art on an international scale—he looked mainly at French artists, and borrowed many paintings from this exhibition for the American exhibition of the next year. So while the Armory Show catalogue lists more than 40 works by Odilon Redon, 17 by Matisse, 15 by Puvis de Chavannes, 18 by Van Gogh, 14 by Cézanne, and 13 by Gauguin, it includes only one each by Kandinsky and Kirchner, and three by Lehmbruck (additional works by various artists were added later). A large exhibition of contemporary German art, sponsored by the German Government, had been shown at the Art Institute of Chicago in 1909, but it featured styles already well-established at the turn of the century: the Impressionism of Leibl and Liebermann, and the symbolist fantasies of Stuck and Böcklin. It was only some time after the First World War, with the influx into the United States of German dealers, museum men, and scholars—many of whom brought their own collections of paintings—that German Expressionism slowly began to be known in this country.

The first major exhibition in America was the Museum of Modern Art's comprehensive *German Painting and Sculpture* in 1931. In the catalogue Alfred H.

Barr, Jr. commented upon the widespread support, both private and public, that modern German artists received in their own country. Almost every artist of any importance had one or more monographs devoted to his work, a very large number of museums owned substantial collections of paintings and sculpture, the advanced artists held professorships in leading academies and art schools, and they enjoyed widespread support from critics and officials.

The term "Expressionism" or "German Expressionism" has had widely varying meanings. Expressionism seems to have been first used in its present context around 1911 in the pages of *Der Sturm* to mean almost any painting that was more "advanced" than Impressionism, which was then the officially accepted modern style. Matisse and Picasso were considered Expressionists fully as much as the German painters sponsored by *Der Sturm*. Von Sydow in 1920 (*Die Deutsche expressionistische Kultur und Malerei*, Berlin) classified the leading artists of the previous decade and a half into German, French, and Russian Expressionists, a grouping which represented the prevailing view (this author used the term "Abstract-Expressionism" here to designate the influence of the geometric forms of Cubism on the German Expressionists).

In later years German writers tended to exclude from German Expressionism foreign-born artists as closely associated with German movements as Feininger, Klee, and Kandinsky. More recently, critics have held that Expressionism is not a German movement at all, but rather an international one composed of both German and northern European artists, such as Munch, Ensor, Kokoschka, Klee, and Kandinsky, who simply found in Germany an environment where the rebellious new art could emerge. But the Expressionist movement was also international in the sense that the artists were highly receptive to foreign influences; the French modern masters were well known in Munich before 1911, and Munch and Van Gogh had been given large exhibitions in Berlin and throughout Germany. The large international shows of the *Sonderbund*, *Neue Künstler Vereinigung*, *Neue Sezession*, and *Der Sturm*, often showed more French than German art. Both foreign art and foreign artists flowed into Germany, although principally from northern Europe, and Berlin and Munich became world artistic centers. It is reasonable to conclude then, in agreement with the implicit assumptions of the authors of these books, that artists of expressionist tendencies from all over Europe were inevitably drawn to the environment where Expressionism had for a long time already been a profound cultural trait.

The problem of the nature of Expressionism within Germany can hardly be solved without a clear distinction between the character of the two major pre-war German movements. The closely unified *Brücke* group arising in Dresden was composed entirely of German artists from nearby regions whose contacts with the *Ausland* were as much with the primitive art and culture of the South Pacific islands as they were with other European art centers. Their roots lie mainly in the art

of Gothic Germany, other northern Europeans such as Munch and Van Gogh, and the *Jugendstil* tendencies in Dresden. The importance of the woodcut to the *Brücke* artists may be traced in part to the experiences of several of them in the applied arts and architecture at the Technische Hochschule in Dresden, thus maintaining a close connection between craftsmanship and art that was fostered by the ideals of *Jugendstil*, and was indeed similar and related to the mediaeval brotherhoods of artisans that the *Brücke* so much admired. The revolt of this group against the overwhelming weight of tradition in both art and life had much of that rebelliousness of youth against paternal authority that social psychologists have indicated as a frequent factor in the development of German youth. The travels of Nolde, Pechstein, and Mueller satisfied a taste for strange adventures and exotic peoples, but their voyages also constituted a *Wanderlust* that freed them from the world of *Bürgerlichkeit*. The themes of their work were related to nineteenth century German romantic painting: mystical nature-worship, religious ecstasy, nudity as a symbol of the freedom of the soul, and a taste for the exotic and the primitive. Formally, the influence of *Jugendstil* provided the advanced notion of the vigorous, decorative line, and the conviction that both line and color were animate elements in themselves. The *Brücke* concepts, however, remained an extension of the nineteenth century tradition that depended upon "objects" in a tangible world as the symbols of ideas and as the carriers of mood.

By contrast, of the five artists most closely associated with the publication and exhibition activities that took place under the name *Blaue Reiter* in Munich, Kandinsky and Jawlensky were Russians, Klee was Swiss, and Marc and Macke were Germans. Their ties with Paris were very close; every one of them had visited there, most of them several times and for extended periods, and Kandinsky had exhibited in the *Salon d'Automne*. The *Neue Künstler Vereinigung* had antagonized the Munich press because of its alleged favoritism to contemporary French artists in the exhibitions of 1909 and 1910. Indeed, among the five essays in the 1910 catalogue, two were by Russians and three by Frenchmen. By the time of the first *Blaue Reiter* exhibition in December 1911, Cézanne, Van Gogh, Gauguin, the Nabis, Matisse and the Fauves, Henri Rousseau, Picasso, Braque, Le Fauconnier, and Delaunay had all been represented by numerous works in Munich. The latter two were personal friends of many of the Munich artists.

The *Blaue Reiter* almanac of 1912 was equally international in scope, including Cézanne, Van Gogh, and Gauguin but, perhaps significantly, not Munch and Ensor, among the 141 illustrations. The paintings of Kandinsky, Marc, and sometimes Jawlensky and Klee after about 1911 no longer depended upon "objects" as did the work of the *Brücke* but, motivated partially by the philosophical and mystical concepts of the inherent expressive powers of color, line, and shape, steadily evolved toward a nonfigurative art related only to feeling-states and the artist's power to create or-

ganically coherent paintings. Kandinsky, Klee, and Marc, in particular, possessed a power of *Entwicklung*—which drove them to that crucial point of transition between nineteenth century attitudes toward subject matter and form and twentieth century concepts of abstraction. Kandinsky and Klee in particular are revered as precursors of later nonfigurative painting.

The movement was well chronicled in its early years in pioneer books such as Von Sydow's, but the major works of the 1920's were monographs: comprehensive ones on such artists as Nolde, Kirchner, and Marc, but also many that were inexpensive and published in large editions on almost every artist of any importance.¹

As modern German painting was reassembled after the recent war, the collective aspects of the *Blaue Reiter* and the *Brücke* became more apparent in several large exhibitions, especially those in Munich, Frankfurt and Hanover. Numerous one-man shows by the major figures also took place, and the exhibition in 1957 of an important series of early paintings by Kandinsky from the collection of Gabriele Münter documented the early and *Blaue Reiter* periods. Several large comprehensive exhibitions that included major sections on the Expressionists were held abroad: *Deutsche Kunst im 20. Jahrhundert* organized by Ludwig Grote in Lucerne in 1953, with a book on the show the next year containing an original and perceptive text; *Hundred Years of German Painting* at the Tate Gallery in London in 1956; and the Museum of Modern Art's immense *German Art of the Twentieth Century* in 1957. The catalogue of the latter show is a substantial volume, including essays on painting, sculpture, and prints—probably the widest coverage of the recent books. The essays on painting by Werner Haftmann and sculpture by Alfred Hentzen are solidly informative and profusely documented with names (many of which, unfortunately, are included neither in the exhibition nor the illustrations). Together with William S. Lieberman's comprehensive essay on prints, this book constitutes an admirable introduction to the entire field.

Among the several books on modern art in general that have appeared in Germany, Haftmann's *Malerei im 20. Jahrhundert* (2 vols., 1954 and 1955) is the most perceptive study. The author analyzes the complex currents of styles on several levels of thought, unifying philosophical and historical aspects with formal analysis. It has been highly praised, one reviewer claiming that it is the final interpretation of the aesthetic values of modern art. This is an overestimation, in the opinion of this reviewer, since, although it is the most perceptive general work, it offers no new basic theories. Then, the complete omission of any reference to American painting limits the useful extent of the book, in terms of contemporary concepts of nonfigurative art, to about

1940, and does not develop the implications of Kandinsky's and Klee's most abstract work. Yet, given an excellent translation, this book should prove to be a valuable text for advanced undergraduate courses in modern art. (As this is being written it is being considered for translation by an American publisher.)

The first comprehensive study of the *Brücke* is Lothar-Günther Buchheim's *Die Künstlergemeinschaft Brücke* of 1956, which is devoted mainly to an analysis of the group characteristics of the artists. The German Expressionist movement in its entirety received extensive treatment for the first time in three books that appeared almost simultaneously in 1957, all of them written by American scholars (an English translation of a general book on modern German painting by Hans Konrad Roethel appeared at about the same time). Charles Kuhn's *German Expressionism and Abstract Art* was originally planned as a catalogue of the extensive holdings in twentieth century art of the Busch-Reisinger Museum of Germanic Culture at Harvard University, to which were later added those of the Fogg Museum, especially from the graphics collection, and others from various parts of the University. The complete Harvard collections as they appear in this handsome book speak well for the judgment and far-sightedness of the curator in building up over many years, in times when this art was unknown or reviled, a collection so extensive and well-selected. The *Brücke* and *Blaue Reiter* occupy the major part of the book. It also includes a representative selection of sculptures by Lehmbruck and Barlach that most of the other books on Expressionism omit.

Abstract art is represented by several German artists of the Bauhaus, and a few recent nonfigurative paintings by contemporary German artists, thus bringing the survey up to the present decade. The over-all interpretation of German art is broad, since foreign-born artists who are closely associated with German movements are illustrated, such as Kandinsky, Jawlensky, Schiele, Lissitzky, and Moholy-Nagy. An essay by Professor Kuhn gives a concise, readable survey of German art for the past half-century or more, and a second essay, by Jakob Rosenberg, covers the same historical period but deals mainly with the graphic arts. In the latter essay the opinion is advanced that Kandinsky is important for his colleagues and for later artists primarily as the intellectual leader of a movement rather than as a painter. This view is not in accord with the opinions of the authors of the other two books, nor of the contemporary Abstract-Expressionist painters among whom Kandinsky's *Blaue Reiter* paintings enjoy enormous prestige. The Abstract-Expressionists' views on art have little in common with his highly spiritual theories, composed as they are of German Romanticism, Russian mysticism, and a personal symbolism. These theories have recently become the subject of careful study, and

1. Other early works on Expressionism were Herwath Walden, *Expressionismus*, Berlin, 1918; Paul Fechter, *Der Expressionismus*, Munich, 1919; Hans Hildebrand, *Der Ex-*

pressionismus in der Malerei, Stuttgart and Berlin, 1919; Hermann Bahr, *Expressionismus*, Munich, 1920.

both the authors of the books to be discussed give them great value, one of the authors devoting an entire chapter to their analysis.²

Two substantial books are devoted solely to German Expressionism. Bernard Myers in *The German Expressionists* takes an *allgemeiner Überblick* that is culturally oriented, a viewpoint similar to that of his earlier comprehensive study, *Mexican Painting in Our Time*. In the first chapters the author touches upon the historical background of the Expressionist movement in the nineteenth century, and the philosophical, religious, and social environment that produced the artistic movement. Here, as in earlier books, is implicit an underlying belief that these forces operating in the *milieu* are important factors in shaping the character of the artist's works. While in the short spaces of the introductory chapters these forces are only summarily treated in brief statements on numerous events and situations, this method yields rich analogies with the Revolution of 1918 and succeeding events as the background (or even the motivation) for the *Neue Sachlichkeit* artists, Dix and Grosz. By this method the author also interprets aspects of *Brücke* subject matter, such as eroticism in Kirchner and the religious theme of Nolde (a most revealing quotation from *Das Eigen Leben* seems to prove the belief that for Nolde the religious and the erotic were closely related aspects of a similar emotion, p. 153).

The scope of German Expressionism as given here is also broad. The several parts ("Independent Expressionists," "The *Brücke*," "The Blue Rider," and "The Revolution and New Objectivity") are divided into essays on the various artists. The two major movements receive the most extensive treatment, but a preceding section assembles the "Independent Expressionists"—such artists as Paula Modersohn-Becker, Kokoschka, Barlach, and Hofer—or those who were not associated with the Dresden or Munich groups. Since the scope of the subject is broad, it is justifiable to include such painters as Oskar Schlemmer and Karl Hofer among the Expressionists. But this inclusion should be qualified by emphasizing that Hofer was outside Germany for practically all the time from 1903 until the end of the war, first in Rome and then in Paris, where his work showed the influence first of Hans von Marées and then of Cézanne. It was only in the 1920's, while back in Germany, that his work began to convey the moods that ally him with the Expressionists, although in form it was still heavily indebted to these two masters.

The chapters on the individual artists are well-rounded essays which include biographical, historical, and stylistic aspects. Since the essays are in the nature of monographs, the individual artistic personalities of the particular painters are emphasized, and such problems as the sources of style are described but not pursued.

The three major sections of the book are devoted to the *Brücke*, Blue Rider, and the New Objectivity painters, and each includes an essay that summarizes

the prevailing social environment and describes the artistic forces that were the influences upon the artists. The *Brücke* subscription plan is seen as a manifestation of the fraternal spirit of the group that sought to arouse the youth to revolt, as Kirchner declared, "... we summon the entire younger generation—and as the youth which carries within it the future, we wish to provide ourselves with a sphere of activity opposed to the entrenched and established tendencies."

The broad viewpoint does not allow investigation of such complex problems as the influence of Oceanic sculpture upon Nolde, Kirchner, or Pechstein, nor of the importance of Munch's woodcuts for the *Brücke*. The influence of Munch's technique is denied here, although it seems quite probable that his curvilinear contours and simple, semi-abstract forms were well known and admired by the German artists.

The *Blaue Reiter* artists had far less interest than the Dresden group in their immediate physical environment as a source of motifs or themes for their painting—their environment was other art and mystical or philosophical ideas, that is, inward and spiritual things—and hence a thorough analysis of their beliefs must relate them to the more fundamental levels of aesthetic and plastic concepts. In these chapters the author avoids involvement in aesthetic ideas by describing and explaining the mystical theories of Kandinsky and the animistic nature-beliefs of Marc in clear, matter-of-fact terms comprehensible to the general reader. Delaunay's association with the *Blaue Reiter* artists is discussed; but his contribution to the work of Marc, Klee, Macke, and Feininger is less a Cubist fragmentation of nature, as stated here, than the concept of the contrast of prismatic colors (as in his correspondence with Macke).

Expressionism as defined here continued in Germany until the advent of the Nazis, and hence the inclusion of later paintings by Expressionist artists is justified, as well as the introduction of new artists whose work has an element of Expressionist content but whose underlying motivations may be different. Kirchner's Cubist-inspired paintings of around 1930 are an example of the first case, and Kanoldt, Schrimpf, and Schlemmer of the second.

The author's method provides interesting contrasts between the work of the various artists, and between the concepts of the German and French groups. The book includes numerous interesting graphics that enliven the pages: posters, portfolios, and membership cards of the *Brücke*. The illustrations are selected to give a thorough coverage of significant works, but divided into four classifications which makes ready reference difficult. Of the several minor errors, most are misspellings due to the use of foreign presswork. The author's prose flows easily, although sometimes at the expense of oversimplifying complex relationships and giving a rationality and order to concepts that are by nature explosively emotional or mystical. As an extensive general history of the movement drawn from intensive research on

2. These theories are analyzed in detail in Kenneth C. D. Lindsay, "An Examination of the Fundamental Theories of

Kandinsky," unpublished dissertation, University of Wisconsin, 1951.

original sources and from personal interviews with the artists, the book fills a need for an informative and well-planned account for the nonspecialist in modern art.

Peter Selz's *German Expressionist Painting* was originally a doctoral dissertation. The author has accordingly limited the scope of his study to the two central movements, *Brücke* and *Blaue Reiter*, and further confined himself to the brief period during which their concepts, as we now know them, were being formulated. The book covers the period 1905 to 1914; from the foundation of the *Brücke* to the outbreak of the war, including passages on the sources of the movements. Thus German Expressionism is defined in the limited sense of the term. The author provides the most intensive documentation yet of the formation of these two movements, the travels and associations of the artists, their exhibitions, controversies, and their theories as expressed in frequent quotations.

Thus this book deals with the most intensely creative years and the crucial stages in the formation of the movement and its theories. It has been argued that many of these artists continued to produce fine work in their later years, and hence the historical limits set by this author are unrealistic, but it is equally true that the innovations were made, and the basic concepts upon which the later work is dependent were developed, in the early, formative years. It is significant, as Meyer Schapiro has observed, that after the First World War no important younger men were to follow or basically to expand upon the contributions of the veterans of the pre-war years. After 1918 Expressionism was an accepted and imitated style; the rebels of 1905-1914 became instructors in the art academies, their work was widely purchased by collectors and public museums, and they became the subject of numerous books. It began to be possible to see Expressionism in historical perspective.

The sources in nineteenth century Classicism, Realism, Impressionism, and the regionalist movements are explored. The chapter on *Jugendstil* as a source is an important contribution, the first since Schmalenbach's *Jugendstil: Ein Beitrag zur Theorie und Geschichte der Flächenkunst* (Würzburg, 1935), to relate it to painting. Little-known Expressionist trends in Vienna are explored and, in addition to Kokoschka, the development of Klimt and Schiele is traced from their origins in the local version of *Jugendstil*.

The opening chapter summarizing nineteenth century aesthetic theories provides an ideological background for the development of the movement. However, while important ideas are described, the brevity of the parts on each writer does not allow an evaluation of the theories, and therefore the most significant currents are not sufficiently emphasized. There is a fundamental difference between the concept of empathy in Vischer, Lipps, and Worringer, which anticipated Expressionism and which eventually sifted down into the

common aesthetic attitudes, and the formalistic theories of "pure visibility" of Fiedler and Hildebrand, which had little real significance for this movement.³ Both these streams of thought tended in various degrees toward abstraction, but the former is related to Kandinsky's concept of "inner necessity," while the latter view seeks, in the words of Fiedler on Von Marées, "to transcend the traditional servitude of art to feelings, thoughts or actions." The fact that August Endell, one of the earliest of the *Jugendstil* designers to work in a completely nonfigurative style, was a pupil of Lipps in Munich is a fascinating conjunction of artist and philosopher that deserves further study. A source of Expressionism in German Romantic painting is suggested by the author, but this problem has not been thoroughly investigated, and would demand a corollary study of the conceptions of nature and man in the literature.

The ideals of *Jugendstil* are summarized in terms of its origins in symbolist literature and painting, and early works of the designers and illustrators are documented as a source for the painters in both Dresden and Munich. The idea of the unity of the arts, that was so intriguing for the symbolist poets, seemed to have found a partial realization in the *Jugendstil* interest in literature and music; and the high craftsmanship of the print-makers was an acknowledgement of the virtual equality of the artisan and painter. The author believes that the taste for the woodcut, the prime medium of expression for the *Brücke*, was an inheritance from the *Jugendstil*.

In several chapters on the *Brücke* the formation and the activities of the group are documented in minute detail. The early experiences of almost all of them with some aspect of the applied arts is significant in view of their absorption with woodcuts, and also with their sentiment for group activities, such as the plan providing for lay members within the group. A large proportion of their woodcuts is devoted to objects for the group: cards, posters, catalogues, and portfolios of prints that were distributed among the members. The problem of the influence of Van Gogh and Munch on the Dresden painters is difficult to solve; the artists' statements are notoriously contradictory on this point, but they show many formal characteristics, and the author produces documentary evidence that strongly indicates a direct influence. It seems highly probable that Gauguin's color woodcuts were not known in Germany during the early years. Most of the available evidence concerning contacts with the primitive art and culture of the South Pacific is summarized here, and revealing quotations by Nolde are included, but a general evaluation of the sentiment for the primitive that found its expression in the *Brücke* camping excursions at Moritzburg, as well as their travels to exotic countries, should be made from the foundation established here.⁴ The cult of nudity and love of nature that is reflected in the popular journals, especially *Die Jugend*,

3. As suggested by Ernest Mundt in "Empathy and Pure Visibility," in press, *Journal of Aesthetics and Art Criticism*.

4. Although not primarily concerned with *Brücke* sculpture,

the chapter in Robert J. Goldwater's *Primitivism in Modern Painting*, New York, Harper, 1938, is still the best interpretation of this influence.

was probably an influential factor in the iconography of the *Brücke*.

The chapter on Expressionist trends in Vienna introduces a new phase of the subject, the particular exotic character of Viennese *Jugendstil* as seen in Gustav Klimt's decorations and Egon Schiele's acidly erotic drawings. Kokoschka has already been extensively studied by Edith Hoffmann (*Kokoschka: Life and Work*, Boston, 1946), but his direct connection with the German artists through his association with *Der Sturm* in Berlin is documented here. Brief mention is made of the influence of Hodler upon Viennese artists, but the larger problem of his importance for the young Germans is another subject that deserves further study.

The international character of Munich is documented by the very frequent exhibitions of modern French masters seen there before 1911. The arrival of Kandinsky in 1896 added to the Munich *Jugendstil* a new type of decorative illustration derived from Russian sources closely related to the decorations of Leon Bakst (who is not mentioned by the author). The evolution of Kandinsky's art in a few years to complete nonfiguration is one of the most revealing and instructive demonstrations of the essential characteristics of *Gegenstandslose Kunst* that a historian could hope for (recently seen in works of 1901 to 1914 in the Gabriele Münter bequest to the *Städtische Galerie* in Munich). The author gives full justice to this crucial period, elucidating it with profuse quotations from Kandinsky's theories. These theories, although compounded of romantic and mystical concepts from both German and Russian sources, express the philosophical implications of nonfigurative painting by describing the artist's high degree of sensitivity to color and his predilection for seeing abstract qualities in natural objects. Although they are highly subjective and often vague, the author has classified them into ideas: reality, form, the spirit, and an ideal synesthesia of the arts. Kandinsky is thus given a central position in German Expressionism, not only as a writer and leader, but also as a painter, a position which is often denied him in German histories, even recent ones (e.g., P. F. Schmidt, *Geschichte der modernen Malerei*, Stuttgart, 1952). The numerous and fruitful contacts of Munich painters with Paris artists, and especially Delaunay and Le Fauconnier, who visited Germany, are recorded in detail. This is another subject that demands further study in terms of stylistic influences. The author's dependence upon the remarks of Guillaume Apollinaire, however, seems to this reviewer an overestimation of the critical objectivity of the poet. Apollinaire's book (*Les peintres cubistes*, Paris, 1913), which was written under the title, *Méditations esthétiques*, is a pastiche of his articles written since 1905, and the page proofs show innumerable corrections and last-minute changes of opinion. The four categories of Cubism (which were extended to include almost every major painter of the day, including Matisse and Rouault) can hardly be accepted today as critical classifications. His writings were, like those of Herwath Walden, enthusiastic panegyrics concerned more with the revolutionary aspects of the new

art than with an understanding of plastic and conceptual innovations.

The concluding chapters comprise a detailed documentation of the various large exhibitions: the *Brücke*, *Neue Sezession*, *Sonderbund*, *Sturm*, and *Blaue Reiter*. These exhibitions demonstrate the readiness with which German artists and their supporters grouped themselves into movements and established programs; perhaps this partially explains why they were recognized so early and why their work was soon found in the museums.

The copious notes to the text and the extensive classified bibliography include many references to scarce journals and exhibition catalogues of the time. These will be important tools for the student engaged in further research.

The logic of the sequence of ideas in the text is often inhibited by a weakness of style, closely related to the method employed. The author has assembled, along with extensive documentary material, numerous quotations from primary and secondary sources. When these are by a principal character and bear upon the subject, or when they are of historical interest, or give a special flavor to the account, they may be most enlightening. But also included are the opinions of many writers of the time whose views are uncritical or not always historically significant (Mr. Selz himself is more qualified to make judgments than many of the authors quoted). The profusion of facts of this kind often results in an overburdening of the text and a congestion of the ideas, so that it is sometimes unclear who wrote the quotation and in what context it is to be taken.

With the appearance of this important reference book the field of German Expressionism has now been comprehensively outlined and explored. But this work has also served to reveal numerous specific problems that remain to be studied: the rich iconography of *Brücke* painting in relation to *Jugendstil* illustrations and to nineteenth century literature; influences of the masters of the previous generation, Munch, Van Gogh, Gauguin, and Hodler; and the fertilizing contacts of the German artists with their French contemporaries.

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Joint Administration of the National Palace and Central Museums, *Ku Kung Shu Hua Lu* (Catalogue of the former Palace Collection of Calligraphy and Paintings), T'ai-pei, 1956, Chung Hua Ts'ung Shu Wei Yüan Hui, 3 vols., 8 *chüan*, I, pp. 152, II, pp. 20, III, pp. 256, IV, pp. 303, V, pp. 516, VI, pp. 258, VII, pp. 96, VIII, pp. 196, 16mo., T.N.C. Y150.00, de luxe ed., T.N.C. Y185.00.

It was a tradition of long standing that emperors of China should build themselves tremendous art collections. At the end of each dynasty, when general chaos and devastation ruled, the priceless art treasures would suffer grievous losses. Then, with the establishment of a new dynasty, the new rulers, anxious to outdo

their predecessors, would try to build bigger and even better collections. Although the slogan was always "for the investigation of the past and the glorification of (Chinese) culture," the real purpose was usually nothing but a display of art objects as *décor* for an age of presumed peace and prosperity. Thus the cycle of collection, destruction, and new collection went on repeatedly in Chinese history.

It is common knowledge that the majority of cultural and artistic objects in the Ch'ing Palace Collection were inherited from the preceding Ming dynasty. Indeed, many items could be traced all the way back through the Yüan to the Sung dynasty. When the Chin Tartars sacked the Sung capital, Pien, and kidnapped emperors Hui and Ch'in, the treasures of the capital were thoroughly looted and carried away to the north. A few hundred years later, through the hands of the Yüan emperors who had overcome the Chins, the same body of valuable material, with some losses, came into the possession of the Chu Ming, who had in turn overthrown the Yüans. During the crisis of chia-shên (1644), when the Manchus came to rule China, even though the treasures of the capital, Yen (Peking), were once again endangered, the losses fortunately were not great. The Ch'ing Emperors K'ang-hsi and Ch'ien-lung, following the practices of the emperors of the T'ang and Sung dynasties, had all the treasures of the inner palaces classified and catalogued. For rare books and other printed volumes, there was the *T'ien Lu Lin Lang*. For bronze vessels of the Three Dynasties, there were *Hsi Ch'ing Ku Chien* and *Ning Shou Chien Ku*. Finally, for calligraphy and paintings, there was the *Shih Ch'ü Pao Chi*. These are all extensive works in huge volumes. Grand were those efforts!

The book *Shih Ch'ü Pao Chi* is divided into three series: *ch'u*, *hsü*, and *shan*. The compilation was begun in the eighth year of the Ch'ien-lung era (1743) and finished in the twenty-first year of Chia-ch'ing (1816). It includes 4,647 works of calligraphy and painting, a sizable portion of which was done by Emperor Ch'ien-lung himself. Nearly everything in the palace was recorded. From the modern point of view, however, the organization of this work appears to be rather confusing and unscientific. First of all, the items are listed neither according to the dates of the artists nor according to the contents of the works. Instead, they follow the names of the palaces where they were once stored. What is worse, there is neither an index nor a table of contents to guide the reader. If one wishes to locate a certain painting in this enormous work, he has to know, first of all, the volume in which this painting appears and, secondly, the palace where the painting was originally kept. Otherwise, the unlucky reader simply has to go through the entire three series in order to find what he wants. Furthermore, works of both calligraphy and painting are classified here according to their quality into upper and lower grades. The headings are distressingly numerous and extremely inconvenient. This is one of the two major reasons why a new and modern catalogue for the former Palace

Collection of calligraphy and paintings is urgently needed.

The second reason for a modern catalogue is as follows: Since the reigns of Chia-ch'ing and Tao-kuang, the succeeding emperors had been mostly young and immature boys. Not only did they personally never develop any taste for art, but the worsening political situation, with foreign invasions and internal unrest, also made cultural and artistic activities impossible. The art treasures were no longer properly guarded. They were either left in deep storage at the mercy of worms and insects, or entrusted to unworthy palace attendants and eunuchs who stole and sold them for profit. Such practices were so common that they can hardly be recorded in detail. Not until the thirteenth year of the Republic (1924), when the abdicated Emperor Pu I finally left the palace and the National Palace Museum was organized, was a careful accounting made. But the lost great masterpieces, some of which have since found their way into public and private collections both here and abroad, can no longer be recovered. The number of objects that were privately sent out of the palace by Pu I under the pretext of personal gifts to his brother Prince Pu Chieh had alone exceeded 1,000. Other losses amount to an even larger number. Thus the old *Shih Ch'ü* catalogue can no longer represent the collection, and a new catalogue for the present "Palace Collection" must be written.

For over thirty years, since the establishment of the National Palace Museum, our country has been in great difficulties. Continuously moving from one place to another, the museum administration has been in a perpetually unstable condition. Thus the plans for a new catalogue were not realized for a long time. After the Museum was installed at T'ai-chung, things began to settle down; so my colleagues began to concentrate their efforts on this task. The present work was completed in April of 1956. It was finished in three volumes with a total of more than 1,000,000 words. All the "Palace Treasures" in the fields of calligraphy and painting that are now at T'ai-chung are included here.

The new compilation is first divided into two large sections: Calligraphy and Painting. Within each section, there are three subdivisions: handscrolls, hanging scrolls, and albums. The items within these subdivisions are listed according to the dynasties and dates of the individual artists. Since the number of catalogued objects is great, and, among them, authentic pieces and forgeries, superior and inferior works are freely intermingled, the objects are therefore divided into two series. The *ch'eng*, or the major, series includes: 1) ancient masterpieces that are absolutely authentic and correctly attributed; 2) ancient masterpieces that are doubtfully attributed but are of extremely high quality, or else of value as collectors' items; 3) first-rate authentic works of more recent masters of the Ming and Ch'ing dynasties. The *chien*, or brief supplementary, series includes all the remaining objects. In the major series, all the original documentations recorded in the *Shih Ch'ü* catalogue are repeated; where descriptions

of certain objects are incomplete in the earlier work, new descriptions are added in accordance to the same literary style of the *Shih Ch'ü* catalogue. The brief supplementary series mentions only the names of the objects, their dimensions and materials. The collectors' seals and colophons are not recorded.

Although, as the chief editor of this new catalogue, I was put in charge of the compilation of the text, I had a few differences of opinion with the Committee (of the Joint Administration of the National Palace and Central Museums), which actually set the policy and supervised the contents of this catalogue. Without wishing to shed any of the responsibilities for the final product, I should like to discuss briefly what appear to me to be the chief shortcomings of this book.

The major difficulty seems to lie in the initial decision to follow the descriptive texts of the old *Shih Ch'ü Pao Chi*. As I have pointed out above, the *Shih Ch'ü Pao Chi* had attempted to make a qualitative classification of the art objects. In the days when this imperial catalogue was written, the compilers could scarcely express their frank opinions, since they had always had to meet with the Emperor's wishes. (The whisper of dissenting opinions can be heard in such works as *Shih Ch'ü Sui Pi* and *Hsi Ch'ing Ta Chi*, the private memoirs of the very same compilers of the various imperial catalogues.) Furthermore, as many as seventy-three years separated the third series of the *Shih Ch'ü Pao Chi* from its first series. Thus even within the *Shih Ch'ü* catalogue itself, the fullness of the descriptions of individual objects often varies, and there are many other inconsistencies both in the style and the content of the old work.

Now, having followed the descriptive texts of the *Shih Ch'ü Pao Chi* faithfully, the new book has not only inherited all the inconsistencies of the old, but has also brought these inconsistencies, as it were, into a new complication. While the new work refutes the old qualitative classifications of the *Shih Ch'ü* catalogue, it introduces a new classification of its own, which is again based on a qualitative, and, therefore, equally

arbitrary judgment. The result is that under the new classification, some of the good objects receive only scanty attention, because the *Shih Ch'ü* catalogue originally classified them as poor and therefore did not bother to describe them fully, while the poor ones have often endlessly long descriptions, since the *Shih Ch'ü* originally treated them as good.

Connoisseurship has always been a most difficult matter. The judgment of a work of art can often vary from one critic to another. For instance, the famous paintings *Ming Huang Hsing Shu T'u* and *Ch'un Shan Jui Sung T'u* have always been called by popular art books the works of a T'ang master and Mi Fu respectively. Judiciously, the new catalogue now attributes them both to anonymous painters of the Sung dynasty, with *Ming Huang Hsing Shu T'u* listed under the old and now disused title, *Kuan Shan Hsing Lū T'u*. On the other hand, many obvious forgeries like *Hsüeh Shan Hung Shu* and *Chu Lin Wu Chün* are still called works of Chang Seng-yu and Yen Li-pên, in the same way as they were listed in the *Shih Ch'ü Pao Chi*. Obviously, these contradictions were clearly known to everyone involved in the compilation of the present work. Yet they seemed to be such unavoidable and insoluble problems. It probably would have been a much better solution if we had given up the traditional qualitative classification completely, while having the old *Shih Ch'ü* descriptive texts reprinted with each object—with perhaps even a footnote of editorial preference for the quality of the work—as reference material for the reader.

Finally, it is regrettable that the present catalogue has no illustrations. This was of course due to material restrictions. It is to be hoped, however, that the forthcoming publications of the "Palace" paintings will in some way fulfill this need.

CHUANG YEN

Director of the National Palace Museum

Translated by WEN FONG

Princeton University

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

Sir:

In a recent article Miss Mirella Levi D'Ancona has stated her disagreement with my attribution to Lorenzo Monaco of an altarpiece in the Biblioteca Comunale in Pescia.¹ Although I am unable to accept Miss D'Ancona's conclusions, such conflict between stylistic judgments is to be expected when attribution must of necessity be formulated purely through the methods of connoisseurship. However, not to be expected are certain distortions in Miss D'Ancona's citation of the literature on Lorenzo Monaco.

Miss D'Ancona writes: "We have now reached the most difficult period of Lorenzo Monaco's career, his early phase. The lack of documented works renders our search more difficult, and we must proceed with caution to avoid the pitfall of attributing to the master works that belong to his school or to his predecessors. It seems to me that all the recent endeavors to attribute works to this phase in Lorenzo's career have failed because the attributions were based upon such undocumented works as the Oblate frescoes and the Bologna and Amsterdam Madonnas, rather than upon the two documented works of the artist."² A footnote appended to the phrases "all the recent endeavors to attribute works to this phase in Lorenzo's career" (and implying the inclusion of the following two words, "have failed") directs us to articles by Hans Gronau, Rosenthal, and myself in which certain works have been attributed to the early phase of Lorenzo Monaco's career.³ If the reader will trouble to refer to Gronau's and my articles, he may be puzzled to discover that in both studies the Oblate frescoes are clearly denied to be by Lorenzo Monaco and just as explicitly attributed to Mariotto di Nardo.⁴ In other words, totally contrary to Miss D'Ancona's vaguely stated implication, neither Gronau nor I have used the Oblate cycle as a touchstone for the attribution of works to Lorenzo Monaco. Indeed, it is doubly curious that Miss D'Ancona did not notice, or at least did not choose to mention, that I had already denied Rosenthal's attribution to Lorenzo Monaco of a miniature in the National Gallery in Washington, specifically because of what I consider an erroneous use of the Oblate frescoes as comparative evidence.⁵

Another dubious moment in Miss D'Ancona's scholarly process demands attention. Although she may freely refute my use of the Bologna and Amsterdam Madonnas as a basis for assigning the Pescia altarpiece

to Lorenzo Monaco, I would challenge her failure to mention that the *Agony in the Garden* in the Academy in Florence and a miniature of 1394 representing *St. Jerome*(?), which she definitely agrees to be by Lorenzo, are likewise essential premises of my attribution of the Pescia altarpiece to Lorenzo's hand. Such "selective" use of evidence for purposes of argument can be convincing only to a reader unfamiliar with the specialized literature of a subject. Disagreement with the results of connoisseurship is innocuous, but inaccurate and partial quotation is unacceptable and therefore prompts this reply, which I respectfully submit for the editor's consideration.⁶

MARVIN J. EISENBERG
University of Michigan

Sir:

I should like to offer the following postscript to "Antoine Desgodets and the Académie Royale d'Architecture" (ART BULLETIN, XL, 1958). Although the main object of my article was an assessment of Desgodets as a writer on architectural theory, a reference was made (p. 52 n. 165) to his activities as a practicing architect. Since writing this, I have found some additional documentation providing both confirmation and correction. For the sake of accuracy I would like to add this new information.

1) *Collège de Beauvais*. Though no major building operation is recorded for the beginning of the 18th century, documents in the *Bibliothèque de la Ville de Paris* (N.A. 191 fol. 95-103) seem to confirm that Desgodets was the official architect of the college. From 1709 to 1721 he acted as expert for the college checking the works of various builders and artisans engaged on jobs of minor importance. He submitted his professional charges for this supervision in a "Mémoire des vacations faites pour Messieurs du Collège de Beauvais par Desgodetz architecte du Roy." That he also acted as designing architect is proved by the "Devis des ouvrages de menuiserie à faire en la chapelle et Sacristie du collège de beauvais suivant le dessein fait par le Sr. Desgodetz architecte du Roy." (*ibid.*, fol. 103)

2) *Plan for connecting the Louvre and the Tuileries*. A reproduction of Desgodets' plan, on a very small scale, was given by D. Drouet in 1812 following an exhibition two years earlier of 40 projects for the completion and reunion of the two palaces. Drouet published two sheets comprising 47 projects which included

1. "Some New Attributions to Lorenzo Monaco," ART BULLETIN, XL, September, 1958, pp. 175-191.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 184.

3. H. Gronau, "The Earliest Works of Lorenzo Monaco," *The Burlington Magazine*, XCII, 1950, pp. 183-188 and 216-222; E. Rosenthal, "Una pittura di Lorenzo Monaco scoperta recentemente," *Commentari*, VII, 1956, pp. 71-77; M. J. Eisenberg, "An Early Altarpiece by Lorenzo Monaco," ART BULLETIN, XXXIX, March, 1957, pp. 49-52. Miss D'Ancona's next

footnote (appended to the phrase "such undocumented works as the Oblate frescoes and the Bologna and Amsterdam Madonnas") refers us to the original publications of the three monuments, by Sirén (1905), Van Marle (1927), and Toesca (1904).

4. Gronau, *op.cit.*, p. 218 n. 17; Eisenberg, *op.cit.*, p. 51 n. 9.

5. *Loc.cit.*

6. See Miss D'Ancona's reply below, p. 128.

those submitted earlier in the 17th and 18th century (*Bibl. Nat., Cab. des Estampes* Va 217). Plan No. 42 is stated to be "de Desgodetz. . . Les plans détaillées, dessinées par Desgodetz, ont de hauteur 8 pieds 4 pouces sur 3 pieds 8 pouces de large. Ils appartiennent à Mr. Gabriel fils archit." It is a very elaborate project which provided an open Square in front of the Colonnade of the Louvre by demolishing the adjoining buildings including the church St. Germain-l'Auxerrois. For this church a new building was to be erected further east in the axis of the Louvre and approximately in the place of the old Hôtel des Monnaies which was to be installed in the monumental buildings lining the north and south side of the Square. It is worth mentioning that much later, when plans were submitted from all sides for the erection of the statue of Louis XV, these ideas were taken up again. A building dividing the vast space between the Louvre and the Tuileries and containing an *Opéra* and a *Comédie* would have helped to conceal the divergence of the axis of Louvre and Tuileries. Desgodetz' solution seems to have been more ingenious than that of Bernini or Perrault. The central pavillon of this intersecting building facing the Tuileries made, through its curving lines, the direction of the Tuileries' axis already less apparent. Behind this concave façade he arranged a domed vestibule which one would have to pass on the way to the Louvre. This centrally planned room would cause the change of direction to be barely noticeable.

3) *Palazzo Pesquiges*. Memmi has taken his information from Frezier, but was careless in copying the architect's name. Frezier refers in his *Dissertation sur les Ordres d'Architecture*, Strasbourg, 1738, p. 12, to the "Hôtel de Pequigny en Province, du dessein de M. Desgoz." Frezier's source is Mariette's *L'Architecture Française* of 1727 where the plates 391-395 are devoted to the "Château de Perigny en Bourgogne du dessein de Mr. Desgots." Desgodetz was, therefore, in no way connected with the building.

W. HERRMAN
London, England

Sir:

The recent publication of Professor Frederick Hartt's book on Guilio Romano (New Haven, Yale University Press, 1958) immediately made obvious the fact that page 305, of the second article on Raphael, which appeared in the December, 1958, issue of the ART BULLETIN, contains a glaring error which should already have been apparent to us as a result of Professor Hartt's earlier researches. This concerns a drawing (Fig. 24; Hartt, plates 85, 542) said by us to be a preliminary stage in the development of the design of The Repulse of Attila. The existence, in Stockholm, of the other half of the drawing, shows that this is untrue; nor in fact, despite the unfortunate wording of the opening sentence of the passage in question, is there, or indeed was there, any doubt in our minds that the drawing is not by Raphael. Even had we not been wholly mistaken about the subject matter, it could have been no more than a reflection of a scheme by Raphael. Any residual

implication of a relaxed canon of Raphael's authentic drawings would, therefore, be most undesirable from our point of view.

The realization of our mistake weakens, but does not, it seems to us, destroy the argument that Raphael originally sketched out a general scheme for the Stanza d'Elodoro on the stylistic lines of the Stanza della Segnatura. The argument that in the individual frescoes Raphael moved steadily from a more restful and harmonious to a more tense and dramatic type of composition seems to be largely unaffected.

JOHN SHEARMAN and JOHN WHITE
Courtauld Institute of Art

Sir:

In his article "An Early Altarpiece by Lorenzo Monaco," THE ART BULLETIN, XXXIX, March 1957, Dr. Marvin Eisenberg published an altarpiece in the Biblioteca Comunale in Pescia. He accepted the attribution to Lorenzo Monaco proposed by Pudelko, and supported it with the comparison of attributed works by the master: the *Agony in the Garden* in the Academy in Florence and the two Madonnas in Bologna and Amsterdam. Dr. Eisenberg considered all these works as products of the youthful period of Lorenzo Monaco, to be dated in the last decade of the Trecento.

I would like to differ with his attribution as I do not believe that the two Madonnas are by Lorenzo Monaco and I think that the Pescia altarpiece is similar to, but by a different hand than the *Agony in the Garden*, which I would accept.

In fact, the Pescia altarpiece is in my opinion stylistically dependent on the *Agony*. The head of St. Peter in the Pescia altarpiece (fig. 5 in Eisenberg's article) has a position and general shape which are similar to that of Christ in the *Agony in the Garden* (fig. 9), but the former has a milder expression and lacks boldness in the details. The neck of St. Peter is merely attached to the body, without muscular tension; the neckline forms a geometric shape with the two descending lines of the mantle and lacks the sweep of the curve in Christ's head; so does the hair, the beard, the ear. If we compare St. Peter's head in the Pescia altarpiece with that of the same Saint in the signed *Coronation of the Virgin* by Lorenzo Monaco (fig. 7) it seems to me that the differences are even greater.

It is my contention that the Pescia altarpiece is not by Lorenzo Monaco but by Matteo Torelli. The mildness in expression and the taste for geometric shapes, which I have pointed out in St. Peter's head—coupled with a flat treatment of forms—are characteristic of the Pescia altarpiece as a whole, and also all of the works by Matteo Torelli (see my article on Matteo Torelli in *Commentari*). The drapery of St. Peter in the Pescia altarpiece has the same pockets as that of a documented illumination by Matteo Torelli (P. D'Ancona, *La Miniatura Fiorentina*, pl. XLIII: D'Ancona was unaware of the document of commission to Matteo for this illumination) and the head of St. Sebastian in the altarpiece is the twin of that of the female Saint in the

illumination. If the attribution of the Pescia altarpiece to Torelli is correct, then the Madonna in Amsterdam must also be attributed to that master, since the Child is but a duplication in the two works.

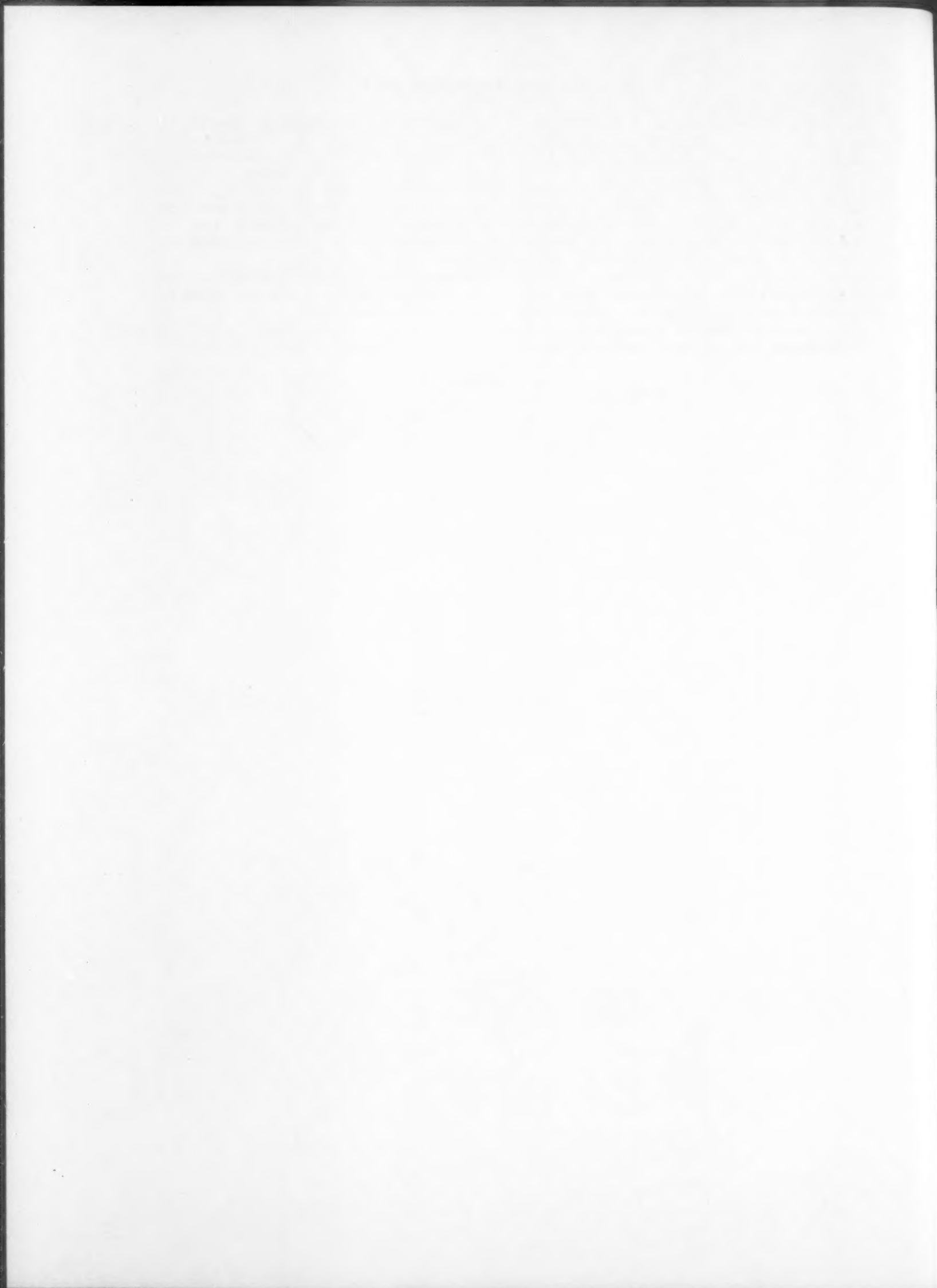
The dating of the Pescia altarpiece is a difficult proposition. Its dependence on the *Agony* places it later than that painting. The *Agony* is not dated, and we can only propose a tentative dating around 1400, between the St. John the Evangelist on fol. 33r of Corale 1 in the Laurentian Library (which is possibly datable around 1396-1398) and the *Pietà* in the Academy in Florence (which is dated 1404). Matteo Torelli does not show the influence of Lorenzo Monaco in his earliest known work, the Dante manuscript in Paris,

dated 1403 (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, ms Ital. 73, fol. 81), so probably he came in contact with Lorenzo Monaco only after that date. The Pescia altarpiece, which we have seen shows the influence of Lorenzo Monaco, should accordingly date after 1403.

Of course, this is but another point of view in the difficult matter of attribution and dating of the fine altarpiece from Pescia, but I think that it bears consideration.

My letter was written before I received Dr. Eisenberg's, published above, but by a strange coincidence seems to have anticipated it.

MIRELLA LEVI D'ANCONA
Florence, Italy



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